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Pope's Double Mistress:
Oriental Philosophy and the Scriblerian Dialectic

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Pope's Double Mistress:
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Dedication

For Sharon and Richard Reilly

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Pope's Double Mistress:
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My dissertation, "Pope's Double Mistress: Oriental Philosophy and the Scriblerian Dialectic," addresses the aesthetic form and literary history of an eighteenth-century genre known as Scriblerian satire. The study recovers a hitherto unacknowledged technique of Orientalist imitation crafted by Alexander Pope and featured in the "Double Mistress" episode in *The Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* (1741). By uncovering Pope's esoteric Scriblerian design, we gain a clearer understanding of his archive and reception into the literary canon. My study documents the surprising impact of Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism on British literary history, tracing its influence over a series of controversies surrounding the posthumous suppressions and revelations of his Double Mistress episode.

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Introduction: Scriblerian Camp: Re-orientations at the Tercentenary

For those readers outside of the field of English literary studies and the even narrower concentration of research identified with the 'long' eighteenth-century, what you are about to encounter is an admittedly unconventional argument pertaining to the little-known literary Orientalism of a canonical poet, Alexander Pope. The dissertation focuses on an obscure genre of satire associated with Pope's "Scriblerus Club" and its fictional persona, Martinus Scriblerus. The primary objective of my study is to convince specialist readers that their knowledge of Pope and Scriblerian satire warrants a re-examination, but also to prompt a pleasurable surprise at the possibility of a curious literary history internal to the canon of masterworks in English literature. Although I did not undertake the dissertation with iconic dates in mind, the tercentenary of the Scriblerus Club will arrive in 2013. Given this opportune coincidence, I begin with the question of what we (who are so inclined) ought to celebrate on this most arcane of literary anniversaries? With so much disagreement as to the character and even the existence of the Scriblerus Club, my response will traverse the transmission and reception of Scriblerian satire from 1713 to today.

A paradigm of controversial literature, the Scriblerus Club opus, entitled *Memoirs of the Extraordinary Life, Works, and Discoveries of Martinus Scriblerus*, has only been printed in its uncensored form for one hundred of the three hundred years since the 1713 formation of the Scriblerus Club. Although scholars have not provided a sufficient explanation for the censorship and suppression of this work, they have also overlooked its uncanny influence on subsequent writers and critics. The central aim of my study is to examine how the literary form and generic specificity of Scriblerian satire explain its afterlives, its haunting and anachronistic returns to visibility, and its impact on satirists

who often performed its steps without invoking its name. As I discuss in the first and final chapters, the specific name of "Scriblerian satire" arose in a scholarly speech-act concomitant with the re-publication of the unexpurgated *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* in 1950. The impetus to re-assess this coinage derives from its capacity to re-orient the Scriblerian archive and focalize its stakes vis-à-vis the legacy of Alexander Pope.

In the process of reconstructing the architecture of a Scriblerian archive, I hope to highlight its formal, thematic, and philosophical affiliation with the marginalized genres Srinivas Aravamudan has recently recovered in his 2012 book, *Enlightenment Orientalism*.[1] Insofar as Aravamudan gives new traction to the reparative methodology of Raymond Schwab's *Oriental Renaissance* (1950), he shares in the project of Marina Warner, who also builds on this "monumental but sadly neglected study" in *Stranger Magic*.[2] Although my project differs from Aravamudan's and Warner's by virtue of its primary emphasis on one canonical eighteenth-century poet and satirist, it also agrees with the literary-historical claims of the one and the phenomenological aims of the other. By focalizing Scriblerianism through Alexander Pope—a writer often viewed as the emblem of a neoclassical era or "Augustan age"—my study considers the horizons and affordances of his imitative aesthetics, contrapuntal modes, and counterfeiting tactics. Through a new coinage of 'Scriblerian Orientalism', my study hopes to carve out a novel concept of influence in the canon of English literature. Far from denying the reality of oppressive institutions for knowing and controlling the East, my project is devoted to opening possibilities of alternative frameworks of representation and exchange between

[1] Srinivas Aravamudan, *Enlightenment Orientalism: Resisting the Rise of the Novel* (Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press, 2012), 252. Further references cited *EO*.

[2] Marina Warner, *Stranger Magic: Charmed States and the Arabian Nights* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 2012), 7. Further references cited *SM*.

an imagined self and a conjoined, co-constitutive other.[3] Scriblerian Orientalism strategically undermines normative concepts of orientation, extending the familiar into the strange and employing the strange as an instrument for re-imagining the familiar. The Scriblerian archive features satirical perspectives alongside visionary experiments derived from an emergent field of Orientalist translation.

Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick could have been thinking of a Scriblerian masterpiece in her account of "the defining elements of classic camp performance: the startling, juicy displays of excess erudition . . . the passionate, often hilarious antiquarianism, the prodigal production of alternative historiographies; the 'over'-attachment to fragmentary, marginal, waste or leftover products; the rich, highly interruptive affective variety; the irrepressible fascination with ventriloquistic experimentation; the disorienting juxtapositions of present with past, and popular with high culture."[4] Sedgwick likens "camp" to a "reparative" stance marginalized by truth-oriented or "paranoid" scholarship. She justifies a reparative position, which "has long been so sappy, aestheticizing, defensive, anti-intellectual, or reactionary that it's no wonder few critics are willing to describe their acquaintance with such motives." She asserts, "What we can best learn

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[3] On "Orient" as phenomenology, see Sara Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2006), 112–20; as strategic performance, see Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1998), 1–38; as site of self-fashioning, see Jonathan Boyarin, *The Unconverted Self: Jews, Indians, and the Identity of Christian Europe* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2009), 27–30; as trope of imperial anxiety, see Nigel Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East: Anxieties of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992).

[4] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling: Affect, Performance, Pedagogy* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2003), 123–151, 150. Further references cited *TF*. Susan Sontag cites Alexander Pope as an originator of Camp sensibility. See Sontag, "Notes on Camp" in *Against Interpretation* (New York: Doubleday, 1990), 275–92, 275. Mark Booth explains that what Sontag "may mean is that [Pope] may be enjoyed (by some people) in a camp way." It "might be more helpful to say" of Pope that he has "qualities that invite the patronage of camp people. . . . [we are] in a position to define camp thus: *To be camp is to present oneself as being committed to the marginal with a commitment greater than the marginal merits*"; Booth, "*Campe-toi!* On the Origins and Definition of Camp" in *Camp: Queer Aesthetics and the Performing Subject, A Reader*, ed. Fabio Cleto (Ann Arbor, MI: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1999), 66–80, 67–68. Cf. Andrew Britton, "For Interpretation: Notes Against Camp" in *Camp*, 136–43, 140.

from such practices are, perhaps, the many ways selves and communities succeed in extracting substance from the objects of a culture—even of a culture whose avowed desire has often been not to sustain them" (*TF* 150–51). While Sedgwick critiques paranoia for its restriction of reparative impulses, its ineffectiveness as anticipatory or oppositional strategy, and its uncritical faith in exposure, she does not disown the potential benefits of paranoia, but seeks "a repertoire of alternative models for allowing strong and weak theory to interdigitate" (145).

Each of the drawbacks of the paranoid position is actually beneficial when taken on a limited scale. For instance, while paranoia assumes "a complex relation to temporality that burrows both backward and forward," this anachronism also permits "a queer possibility. . . . to glimpse the lineaments of other possibilities" than the status quo of conventional "generational relations" (*TF* 130, 146–47). Sedgwick cites "the contagious tropism of paranoia toward symmetrical epistemologies," yet she also describes paranoia as "the most ascetic" form of love for an object. This interpretive economy maximizes the significance of reticent objects and minimal things. Paranoia betrays a "strong" theory of selective scanning and amplification in its pursuit of truth, encompassing a wide spectrum of remote phenomena under unacknowledged tautologies. In its disavowal of affect and assertion of objectivity, Sedgwick claims, paranoia "is nothing if not teachable" (134–36). Her essay, "Pedagogies of Buddhism," redeems the "tautological nature" of alternative "pedagogical scenes" and "hermeneutic situations," in which 'Western' readers seek out encounters with 'Eastern' texts. As opposed to exposing and condemning "the worst Orientalizing vices identified by recent critical scholarship," Sedgwick explores the disorienting "possibility for *companionship*" in the "realms of unmaking" in a process-oriented hermeneutic circle, where one discovers the familiar in the foreign and vice-versa (168, 175). The paranoid tautologies of these

Buddhist pedagogies of negativity or non-knowledge elude Sedgwick's critique of the academy's "extraordinary stress on the efficacy of knowledge per se—knowledge in the form of exposure" (138). She emphasizes nearness to knowledge in the phrase "sounds true to me," and affirms an ironic hermeneutic in which "one only learns what one already knows" (165–66). My argument endorses Sedgwick's methodology in its efforts to integrate a diverse and conflicting body of pre-existing scholarship on Pope into new arrangements predicated on the unapprehended literary forms of his Scriblerian Orientalism.

By adopting an 'interdigitating' combination of paranoid and reparative stances, my study proceeds from specialized research in eighteenth-century literary history to more general claims regarding the opportunity for reframing the genre of Scriblerian satire. For instance, in his landmark book, *Grub Street: Studies in a Subculture* (1972), Pat Rogers asserts, "No polite writer, so far as I am aware, ever wrote a Secret History."[5] Although Rogers's assertion is tangential to his major claim that Pope both created the trope of Grub Street and participated in such venues of popular print, we can rethink his specific point without diminishing the larger argument. In fact, Alexander Pope (whether 'polite' or 'impolite') stands out as a practitioner of an arcane and provocative genre of secret history. In response to Rogers's separation of "polite writers" and "Secret History," I propose the dialectic of public genres (adhering to conventional propriety and decorum) and the private or semi-public performances affiliated with a Scriblerian persona. Pope's tactics of joint-authorship (whether real or fictional) requires a conspiratorial intimacy between the writer and reader, which destabilizes objective and reifying approaches to the 'polite' and authoritative text. A genre of secret history depends on the interplay of

[5] Pat Rogers, *Grub Street: Studies in a Subculture* (London: Methuen & Co., 1972), 281.

paranoid and reparative stances. As the following study vacillates between these two stances, it extricates a genre of secret history from the purlieus of Grub Street and places it squarely in the canon of Pope. As opposed to focusing on his topical satire on a proliferating network of dunces, my argument will recuperate the experimental and esoteric orientation of his Scriblerian aesthetics.

In one unfortunately obscure work of eighteenth-century scholarship, entitled *The Counterfeiters: An Historical Comedy* (1968), Hugh Kenner isolates Pope's esoteric and modern form of Scriblerian "Pop" art. While Kenner's examples range widely, spanning from Andy Warhol's soup cans to Buster Keaton's physical comedy, he credits Pope with the invention of a mode of counterfeiting prestige by engendering personae necessary to pass off a hoax. According to Kenner, James Joyce reawakened this Scriblerian aesthetic in *Ulysses* (1918–22), terminating a "Romantic Interlude" in which authors retreated from popular print into idealized categories of genre, which compelled them to craft poetic identities through the assumption of "corresponding postures . . . all ridiculous, all seen by normal people as normal." Joyce's *Ulysses* "cauterized" this degraded romanticism "by juxtaposition, by parody, by the evocation of classic norms."[6] Joyce's "three obsolete modes" point forward to the late twentieth century ("a world of image-duplicators . . . a world of non-fiction fiction . . . a world that has turned into one huge *musée sans murs*"), and to a revitalized "Pop" aesthetic achievable "[by] counterfeit, by quotation, by connoisseurship." Kenner traces the origins of this aesthetic theory to Pope, who first realized that a work "has no inherent virtue, it is valued as is it aimed," that material "has no inherent genre, it will tip in any direction," and that analogies "have no

[6] Hugh Kenner, *The Counterfeiters: An Historical Comedy* (Champaign, IL: Dalkey Archive Press, 2005), 12. On Pope's Scriblerian modernity, see Keston Sutherland, "What is *Bathos*?" in *On Bathos: Literature, Art, Music*, eds. Sara Crangle & Peter Nicholls (London: Continuum, 2010): 7–26, 19.

inherent decorum, their efficacy is a function of detailed judgment" (56). While Kenner attributes Scriblerian satire's origins to a transmutation of classical genres to suit degradations of modern taste, my study extends his interpretation and deciphers it as a post-classical synthesis and visionary Orientalist experiment.

Srinivas Aravamudan's *Enlightenment Orientalism: Resisting the Rise of the Novel* also concludes by turning to Joyce, citing his "transgeneric voraciousness and stylistic tonalities" as the epitome of a hybrid literary Orientalist genre, which first emerged during the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century. Aravamudan contends that Joyce responded to the marginalization of this genre in an emergent nineteenth-century national canon based on implicit hierarchies of romantic individualism and narrative realism. Aravamudan invents the term "*Enlightenment Orientalism* as a tag for the aesthetic charge presented by [works of a] . . . doubled and doubling nature: inside and outside the nation, self-critical and also xenotropic, philosophical and also fantasmatic. . . . Enlightenment Orientalism was not 'a corporate institution for dealing with the Orient' but a fictional mode for dreaming with the Orient—dreaming with it by constructing and translating fictions about it, unsettling its meaning, brooding over it" (*EO* 8). Aravamudan reconstructs an archive and method that enable "a vibrant interrogation and critique of predecessor narratives by citation, parody, and juxtaposition" (10). This Enlightenment "Araby" overlaps with Kenner's interpretation of *Ulysses* to the extent that it also resists the simplified or conventional notions of virtue, genre, and decorum that define the "national literature paradigm" of the nineteenth century (7, 250). Aravamudan situates genres of Enlightenment Orientalism in a parasitical and subsidiary relationship to authoritative discourses ("the rise of exclusionary national cultures"), but he also gestures toward their autonomous powers of counterfeiting—citing a crucible of imitation that "distorts, perverts, and subverts

immediate facts . . . making heady references to other spaces and places that are not mere vehicles but fantastic alternatives and virtual associations" (243). He outlines an anti-realist mode that "combines genius and lunacy, insight and delirium," yet he does not correlate this mode with Pope's Scriblerian pedant.

In the study that follows, however, I will contend that the controversial and often suppressed "Double Mistress" episode of *The Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* brilliantly engages the Enlightenment Orientalist "theme of secret wisdom" through allusions to three texts that Aravamudan groups as epitomizing Enlightenment Orientalist practice:

> Presented with a metafictional preface, [*Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*] offers 'a Glimpse of the Secret of Secrets,' as Ibn Ṭufayl claims to be revealing esoteric wisdom to a close friend (in Arabic the title means 'Alive, Son of Aware'). This theme of the secret wisdom of Eastern philosophy . . . is taken up more colloquially by several Enlightenment Orientalist texts as an organizational tic even though the modern texts tend to inflect such wisdom politically, from the conspiratorial atmosphere that infects the activities of Mahmut, *L'espion turc* . . . [to] the thematic interest in 'A Vision of the Angelic World' that is a preoccupation of . . . the third volume of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. (*EO* 16)

As will become evident, in "The Double Mistress" episode Pope and the Scriblerians experimentally couple *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, *L'espion turc* and a trope of the "Paw-Waw" discussed in Defoe's *Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe*. Pope synthesizes these three allusions within a high-concept burlesque on the double marriage of Scriblerus to a lover (Lindamira-Indamora), and a rival (named Ebn-Hai Paw-Waw). The Double Mistress, I argue, is the climactic episode and anamorphic clue to the formal coherence of Scriblerus's *Memoirs*. Not only does the esoteric allegory of the Double Mistress episode suggest new ways of interpreting the *Memoirs*, but it also reveals patterns of Scriblerian intersection with Pope's neoclassical archive. Despite two lengthy periods of suppression, the Double Mistress episode has fertilized a range of prominent and provocative imitations that have been subsumed into the British literary canon. My argument employs

the Double Mistress to unveil this little-known Scriblerian Pope, while simultaneously reconsidering his legacy in relation to his practices of esoteric Orientalism.

As opposed to viewing Scriblerus's *Memoirs* as an unfinished and neglected fragment, I contend that this is a key text that will benefit eighteenth-century specialists, but also compel a broader interest in a controversial and suppressed genre of Scriblerian Orientalism. This genre is noteworthy for its modern complexity and resistance to conventional form, but also for its tactics of transformative revelation through intricately encrypted and allusively embroidered margins.

In *Stranger Magic: Charmed States and the Arabian Nights*, Marina Warner assays modernist Orientalism as an "arabesque" genre common to Antoine Galland's *Les mille et une nuit* (1705–1717) and Jorge Luis Borges's *Labyrinths* (1962). Warner claims, "Endlessly generative and cyclical, arabesque embodies vitality, resourcefulness and the dream of plenitude (no surface left bare). . . . The stories themselves are shape-shifters. . . . [This is] a genre of dazzling fabulism, laying open infinite possibilities of fantastic invention and fabrication—the begetter of magical realism."[7] The "Orient" of the *Nights* has its own "Orient" in the disavowals of pre-Islamic others, Warner contends. Western readers co-opted Islamic denunciations of magic to distance and disavow "esoteric arts" and "hermetic occultism" that had been "included in the intellectual classical tradition" of the Renaissance: "So the relegation of magic to 'Others' takes place in the *Nights* and related legends, doubling and reflecting the persistent later tactic of disavowal in the West, where magic presences at home are distanced from a native rationality, and most vociferously denounced when they bear a resemblance to it" (*SM* 106, 96). This

[7] Warner, *Stranger Magic*, 7, 24. For precedents of Warner's theory of "contact zones," see Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 7; Madeleine Dobie, "Translation in the Contact Zone: Antoine Galland's *Mille et une nuits: contes arabes*" in *The Arabian Nights in Historical Context: Between East and West*, Eds. Saree Makdisi and Felicity Nussbaum (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2008), 25–50, 27–29.

Enlightenment disavowal (of esotericism, irrationality, and Orientalism) supplied Pope with a pretext for disowning Scriblerus, but it also facilitated a platform for his ironic Orientalist imitations.[8]

While Warner critiques rationalists' and monotheists' 'progressive' disavowals and projections of internal otherness, she also examines the irreverent and brazen blasphemies of eighteenth-century satirists in light of their recourse to an "ironic Orientalism. . . . transparently draped over Western error . . . [and] abuses of power." Warner redeems this Orientalist mode: "changing perspective can open the eyes of the audience, both inside and outside the text. An unfamiliar angle of view on familiar conditions will lift the pall of dull custom and conventional values" (*SM* 275–77). She contextualizes eighteenth-century oriental tales in a broader tradition of "*belle infidèle* translation," in which the author "should enrich what he is reading. He should misunderstand the text; he should change it into something else" (17). According to Warner, this "stance inaugurates an ideal Enlightenment vision," encoding fantastic identification and cultural critique in the "mingling and interfusion . . . of a process of Creolization" (26). Joseph Spence's *Anecdotes* seems to present Pope himself in some thing like this blasphemous, ironic, hybrid mode when they record him saying, "After reading the Persian Tales, (and I had been reading Dryden's Fables just before them) I had some thought of writing a Persian fable; in which I should have given a full loose to description and imagination. It would have been a very wild thing, if I had executed it; but might not have been unentertaining."[9] Unfettered and fantastic, wild and enlightened,

[8] Helen Deutsch demonstrates how a poetics of deformity "frames the power of Pope's vision with its reminder of the observer's gaze." In his *Essay on Man*, he equates "monstrosity" with "the embodiment of human intellectual conception, an embodiment imagined as a fall into obscurity and a vision of limitation"; Deutsch, *Resemblance and Disgrace: Alexander Pope and the Deformation of Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1996), 3–7.

[9] Joseph Spence, *Anecdotes, Observations, and Characters of Books and Men*, ed. Samuel Weller Singer (London, 1820), 140. Further references cited *SA*.

multiple and ambivalent: Pope is describing a Scriblerian oriental tale. As we approach the Scriblerus Club's tercentenary (1713–2013), my hope is that an extended study of Scriblerian Orientalism will help us to better understand the multivalent dimension of Pope's archive and legacy.

Chapter one begins with an investigation of Pope's esoteric forms of Scriblerian Orientalism in "The Double Mistress." I argue that literary critics have overlooked the obscure oriental/occidental pastiche that structures the strange tale of Scriblerus's double marriage to a conjoined twin and legal conjunction to a rival husband. Not only does the episode attempt a philosophical parody on the notion of individual identity, but it also encodes a high-concept literary burlesque. Scriblerus's rival—an African dwarf named "Ebn-Hai Paw-Waw"—couples an allusion to an Arabic philosophical text (Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*) to an archive of colonial myths about the Native American Powwow. Pope alludes to Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* explicitly in three separate prose works: the Double mistress episode, a pseudonymous 1713 essay against cruelty to animals, and a letter on landscape gardening in his 1737 correspondence. Moreover, he adapts the protagonist of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* indirectly in the paired figures of the Indian and Dervish in *An Essay on Man* (1733/34). In his *Dunciad* (1729/43), Pope further incorporates the polemic of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓan* into a satire on the East-to-West progress of an Empire of Dulness. Chapter one closes by recapping Pope's strategy of weaving Scriblerian Orientalism into his didactic poetry. I introduce an anonymous imitation by a contemporary of Pope, *On the Nature of the Most Ingenious Arts, and the Benefits of Indulgence to the Most Curious Things* (1747). This poet adroitly captures Pope's Scriblerian Orientalist dialectics in the proposition that, "Like East and West, 'oft Sense and Dulness meet."

Chapter two addresses the emergence of a Counter-Scriblerian mode, in which authors mimicked the Scriblerian design and caricatured Pope's person as the epitome of its aesthetic and moral abuses. Henry Fielding inaugurated this Counter-Scriblerian mode in his stage farce, *Tom Thumb* (1730), and in his extended *Tragedy of Tragedies, or The Life and Death of Tom Thumb the Great . . . With Annotations of H. Scriblerus Secundus* (1731). Fielding relies on innuendo and subtext to burlesque Pope's private deformity and to isolate the subversive implications of his Scriblerian form. Fielding's performances were not only a popular success, but they also promoted a repertoire of Counter-Scriblerian tropes pertaining to monstrous nonsense and secretive satire. This Counter-Scriblerian mode impacted Richard Owen Cambridge's sequel to the *Memoirs*, entitled *The Scribleriad: An Heroic Poem in Six Books* (1751). In Cambridge's poem, Scriblerus discovers the Philosopher's Stone in the East before completing his descent from pedantry into oriental alchemy. The final section of this chapter tracks the hybridization of Pope's Scriblerian and Fielding's Counter-Scriblerian modes in the Paper War of 1752–1753. Chapter two shows how Fielding's knowing nonsense both influenced Cambridge's refined Orientalist burlesque and also spawned a transgressive and ambivalent Grub Street aesthetics. It also details how these Counter-Scriblerian imitators departed from Fielding's personal attacks on Pope's reputation, either embracing or repudiating his covert sympathy for a Scriblerian anti-self.

The third chapter explores Scriblerian Orientalism's persistence as an "open secret" during the latter half of the century. This chapter addresses a reception history that spans from 1751–1797, beginning with William Warburton's expurgation of the Double Mistress, and ending upon Joseph Warton's controversial exposure of the episode. The initial section portrays Warburton's defense of Pope's orthodoxy against a rising tide of philosophical and moral criticism promulgated by Samuel Johnson. It also

identifies Warburton's confrontations with Scriblerian imitators such as Laurence Sterne, who unrepressed the open secret in *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* (1759–67). Furthermore, it compares Warburton's authoritative presentation of Pope to a provocative portrait of his Scriblerian satire presented in Joseph Spence's unpublished *Anecdotes*. After summarizing Warburton's expurgation of Pope's Double Mistress, the following three sections consider late-century responses to his suppressed Scriblerian Orientalism. First, I compare Johnson's deformation and repression of Scriblerian satire in his "Life of Pope" (1781) to his appropriation of the genre in *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia* (1759). Second, I investigate William Jones's innovative imitations of Pope and avoidance of Scriblerian imitation in *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatic Languages* (1772). Third, I introduce Thomas James Mathias, a belated neoclassicist and advocate of Warburton's Pope, who exploited the open secret to stigmatize an emergent field of translation in *A Dissertation by Martinus Scriblerus on the Utility and Importance of Oriental Languages* (1781). Chapter three concludes with reflections on how the instrumental realization of the open secret generated a disparate archive of criticism and imitation, while also spurring new conflicts and anxieties.

Chapter four demonstrates how Joseph Warton's 1797 exposure of the Double Mistress prompted the romantic-era "Pope controversy" that James Chandler describes as "arguably the canonical canon controversy in English literary history."[10] My argument begins with a summary of the textual history of the Double Mistress in four separate romantic and Victorian editions of Pope (1797, 1806, 1824, 1871–89). It then turns to close readings of the Scriblerian subtext of satires affiliated with the Pope controversy, such as Lord Byron's *Don Juan* (1819–24), Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh* (1817), and

[10] James Chandler, "The Pope Controversy: Romantic Poetics and the English Canon," *Critical Inquiry*, 10.3 (1984): 481–509, 503.

Thomas DeQuincey's *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* (1821). Byron imagined Pope as a hybrid of a classical temple, gothic cathedral, and oriental mosque; Moore deployed Pope's "*in-door*" nature in Orientalist pastoral satire; and DeQuincey envisioned Pope's Scriblerian persona as a repressed "Malay" in the romantic imagination. These poets represented two camps of prominent Scriblerians at *The Quarterly Review* and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. Their satires also resonated alongside aftershocks of the Pope controversy in nineteenth-century American works, such as Edgar Allen Poe's *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque* (1840) and Mark Twain's *The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson and the Comedy of Those Extraordinary Twins* (1894). Despite the surprising depth and breadth of the Pope controversy, these creative skirmishes would not be registered in the annals of canonical Victorian scholarship. In fact, they (like Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism) would be suppressed.

In my conclusion, I outline revivals of Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism in the twentieth century. First, I discuss Edith Sitwell's controversial biography, *Alexander Pope* (1930).[11] While American Pope scholars dismissed Sitwell's volume as an eccentric and subjective misreading, British authors and critics such as Eric Arthur Blair ("George Orwell"), Norman Ault (editor of Pope's minor poetry and prose), and Geoffrey Tillotson (the Twickenham editor of *Rape of the Lock*) praised her "queer" affection for Pope and her revival of nineteenth-century controversies. Sitwell not only wrote a biography of Pope, but she also engaged in Scriblerian feud with Wyndham Lewis. I discuss the opposing readings of Scriblerian satire that inform Sitwell's *Gold Coast Customs* (1929) and *I Live Under a Black Sun* (1937), as well as Lewis's *The Apes of God* (1930). Lewis

[11] My conclusion addresses the twentieth-century Pope revival caused by Edith Sitwell's *Alexander Pope* (1930). Prior to offering his definition of camp, Mark Booth cites the example of literary scholars' diminution of the Sitwell Camp: "It was F.R. Leavis who said of the poets Edith, Osbert, and Sacheverell Sitwell that they belonged to the history of publicity rather than of poetry—Oscar Wilde, Andy Warhol, and the rest in the 'camp' column have all been successful self-publicists"; "Campe-toi!" in *Camp*, 69.

impressed Canadian-born literary critics and theorists of Scriblerian modernism, from Marshall McLuhan to Hugh Kenner. Kenner devised an avant-garde reading of a Scriblerian "Pop" in *The Counterfeiters* (1968), while McLuhan's *Gutenberg Galaxy* (1962) and *Understanding Media* (1964) allude to Pope's prophecy of a "tribal man" and "Africa within" in the electric age: "the reversal now proceeding apace, by which the Western world is going Eastern, even as the East goes Western."[12] My study concludes in Ithaca, NY, where Vladimir Nabokov parodied his former colleague's edition of *The Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* (1950) in his "Scenes from the Life of a Double Monster" (1950/58). In his novel, *Pale Fire* (1962), Nabokov pairs the heroic couplets of a Pope scholar with sprawling posthumous endnotes that reintroduce the suppressed tales of "Popian 'Zembla'" (a "land of reflections, or 'resemblers'").[13] Nabokov not only offers a fictional counterpoint to scholarship on the Scriblerus Club, but he also provides a discerning view into its limitations and misprisions with regard to Pope.

Before turning to Scriblerus's Double Mistress, let me briefly take stock of the stakes of my argument. By acknowledging Pope Scriblerian aesthetics—deformed as it may appear on its surface—as governed by an arcane and polemical form of Orientalist imitation, we gain a new appreciation for the Scriblerian archive and new traction toward grasping its surprising influence on the canon of English literature. By acknowledging the impact of Arabic literature on Pope, we acquire a template for exploring how imitators diversified and inflected his mode of Scriblerian Orientalism. While we can begin to re-

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[12] Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (London: Routledge, 2001), 38.

[13] Vladimir Nabokov, *Pale Fire* (New York: Vintage, 1989), 81, 265. Further references cited *PF*. Pope justifies the aesthetics of Zembla, asserting that "*Verisimilitude . . .* [is] *not requir'd in the Descriptions of this visionary and allegorical kind of Poetry, which admits every wild Object that Fancy may present in a Dream, and where it is sufficient if the moral Meaning atone for the Improbability*"; See Geoffrey Tillotson, ed., "Zembla: The Poet and the Scientist" in *The Rape of the Lock and Other Poems* (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 1962), 220 256, 410.

examine currents of textual transmission and intellectual-historical influence, we can also demonstrate that Orientalist translation and British literature are more inextricably bound together than critics have hitherto believed. What is unique about Scriblerian Orientalism is that it alters the paradigm from a directional emphasis on British authors and their study of difference, and instead focuses on British authors who found resemblances and affinities with existing translated works. Such a study promises new avenues of inquiry into canonical writers such as Pope and marginalized genres such as Scriblerian satire.

Chapter 1: Pope's Double Mistress, Oriental Philosophy, and Scriblerian Esotericism

In his landmark book, *Grub Street: Studies in a Subculture* (1972), Pat Rogers asserts, "No polite writer, so far as I am aware, ever wrote a Secret History."[1] In the following discussion, I argue that Alexander Pope—the conservative satirist most active in promoting the trope of "Grub Street"—has been overlooked as an innovator in the genre of secret history.[2] In chapter one, I outline a new way to read *The Memoirs of the Extraordinary Life, Works, and Discoveries of Martinus Scriblerus* (1741), a collaborative work, whose primary author and editor was Pope. I argue that this work enables us to analyze the intersection of eighteenth-century genres of secret history and literary Orientalism. The infamous "Double Mistress" episode of Scriblerus's *Memoirs* epitomizes Pope's method of surreptitiously drawing material from a controversial arena of Orientalist translation. While critics often view Scriblerian satire through the lens of its exorbitant burlesque and vehement parody, we can also read it as a genre of sinister intrigue and dexterous subterfuge, in which Pope reinvents neoclassical aesthetics to suit his new mode of Orientalist imitation. By acknowledging such enigmatic performances, we can better grasp the interconnectedness of "impolite" Scriblerian satires with Pope's "polite" neoclassical poetry. The Scriblerian Orientalist aesthetic functions intertextually, binding otherwise disparate networks to reveal dynamic formal textures, destabilizing

[1] Pat Rogers, *Grub Street: Studies in a Subculture*, 281.

[2] My reconsideration of Scriblerian satire responds to cluster of conceptual dilemmas in the past three decades of Pope studies, such as the relative value of Pope's poetics versus his prose, the relationship between textual exteriority and private interiority, and the degree to which Pope approached authorship from center of cultural authority or from the margins of anonymity, obscurity, vulnerability, and opposition. See G.S. Rousseau, "A Review Essay: Writings on the Margins of Pope" *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 14.2 (1980–81): 181–93; Jennifer Ellis Snead, "No Exit? Recent Publications on Pope" *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38.2 (2005): 349–55; Flavio Gregori, "Alexander Pope: A Poet on the Margins and in the Center" *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 38.1 (2005).

reversals of content, and dramatic fluctuations of style and sensibility. In *An Essay on Criticism* (1711), Pope recommends a comparative method to harmonize the excesses of deformity with the symmetries of form: "Some Figures *monstrous* and *mis-shap'd* appear,/ Consider'd singly, or beheld too *near*,/ Which, but *proportion'd* to their *Light*, or *Place*,/ Due distance *reconciles* to Form and Grace" (i.171–74). My argument re-orients Scriblerian satire as a mode of conveying esoteric form through the medium of deformity. I contend that these esoteric forms generate critical tensions beneath the refined surface and conventional façade of Pope's neoclassicism. He refashions Orientalist translation as a vehicle to convey an ironic counterpoint—a minor antithesis that unobtrusively extends, moderates, complicates, and develops the major didactic tone and significance of his poetry. While Pope did not publically embrace this mode, he offered private clues indicating the potential benefits of such an interpretation. By identifying the sources, methods, and stakes of this Scriblerian Orientalist mode, chapter one deciphers and reconstructs a central aesthetic experiment at the margins of Pope's authoritative archive.

Charles Kerby-Miller's 1950 edition of *The Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* (the first unexpurgated version since William Lisle Bowles's 1806 edition) reprinted Pope's Double Mistress episode and sparked a renewed interest in the genre of Scriblerian satire. In the fifty years after Kerby-Miller's watershed edition, scholars would demonstrate the *Memoirs* as a complex philosophical thought-experiment concerning materialist theories of identity and rationality, physical embodiment and the self-evident nature of the soul. Ashley Marshall has recently interrogated this scholarly discourse. She contends that Kerby-Miller overstated Scriblerian satire's value to the individual collaborators and their eighteenth-century readers. Marshall aligns Kerby-Miller with a coterie of scholars responsible for the "sudden promotion of Scriblerus" (or, more accurately, the "Myth of Scriblerus") at "Cambridge, Massachusetts" circa-1950. George Sherburn, Robert J.

Allen, Lester M. Beattie, and Kerby-Miller elevated Scriblerian satire from "a 'minor episode' into what came to be seen as a literary legacy that seriously influenced its members and the directions taken by English satire in the eighteenth century."[3] There are justifiable reasons for skepticism toward the broad multi-author Scriblerian project promoted by these scholars at Harvard. First, almost thirty years passed between the dissolution of the club and Pope's publication of the *Memoirs*. The other collaborators left him the manuscripts and did not endeavor to complete the club's eponymous opus. Second, Pope's subsequent editorial interventions—removing his name from the title page of the *Memoirs* after the first edition, and requesting William Warburton to remove the "Double Mistress" from his posthumous *Works of Alexander Pope, Esq*. (1751)—suggest a proprietary concern in the work and self-conscious regard for its reception.

In the wake of Marshall's argument against Scriblerian satire, literary critics have emphasized Pope's specific role in promoting Scriblerus's works. Dustin Griffin explains that Pope "retrospectively established—or invented—the importance of the Club" with his delayed publication of the *Memoirs* in 1741. Griffin downplays the idea of the *Memoirs* as a major opus of the Scriblerus Club, citing Swift's lack of interest in the project and his dislike of Pope's *Dunciad*. Griffin instead links the *Memoirs* to Pope's serious poetry, claiming it as an iteration of philosophical themes in his ethical epistles:

> One Scriblerian piece to which Pope made some contribution, as suggested by surviving fragments in his hand from 1716 to 1717, is the famous 'Double Mistress' episode. His fellow collaborator is usually thought to have been Arbuthnot rather than Swift, who after 1714 was in Ireland and had shown less interest than the other Scriblerians in the "Memoirs." The bizarre tale of

[3] Marshall depicts the Harvard Scriblerians: "[Robert J.] Allen's [*The Clubs of Augustan London* (1933)] and [Lester M.] Beattie's [*John Arbuthnot, Mathmetician and Satirist* (1935)] . . . were published by Harvard University Press, and [George] Sherburn taught at Harvard. Beattie acknowledges his debt to Allen, and Allen thanks Beattie; Sherburn encouraged Kerby-Miller's edition of the *Memoirs* (published in 1950)"; Marshall, "The Myth of Scriblerus," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31.1 (2008): 77–99, 90–1.

> Lindamira and Indamora has led some critics to think that its authors were playing out some of the implications of contemporary notions of personal identity. Pope would later go on to write verse essays about the "characters" of men and women, and to show particular interest in identifying a principle of personal identity—the "ruling passion"—and in confronting irresolvable inconsistencies. Thus, it does not seem implausible that he would have delighted in exploring how the Siamese twins might be two or one. It also seems apt that a tale of a composite body with two heads (and two distinct "Organs of Generation") was composed by a composite of at least two generative authors.[4]

Griffin groups a lengthy list of critics who have analyzed Scriblerian satire, including Christopher Fox, Frank Palmeri, Dennis Todd, Lisa Zunshine, and Roger Lund. Prior to the "Myth of Scriblerus," these scholars had separately charted out the various ways in which the Double Mistress burlesques John Locke's theories of identity and individual reason, parodies scholastic debates on topics such as free will and moral judgment, and presents radical thought-experiments concerning the potential for aggregate identity and double-consciousness.[5] I argue that the Double Mistress episode also features a background of allusions to provocative Orientalist translations. Scriblerus Club members shared affiliated modes of Orientalist satire and they all also contributed material to the *Memoirs*. But Pope, in particular, was the shaper, promulgator, and innovator of the Scriblerian Orientalist aesthetic. Furthermore, Pope is the primary contributor (if not the sole author) in every Club work that incorporates the character of Martinus Scriblerus.

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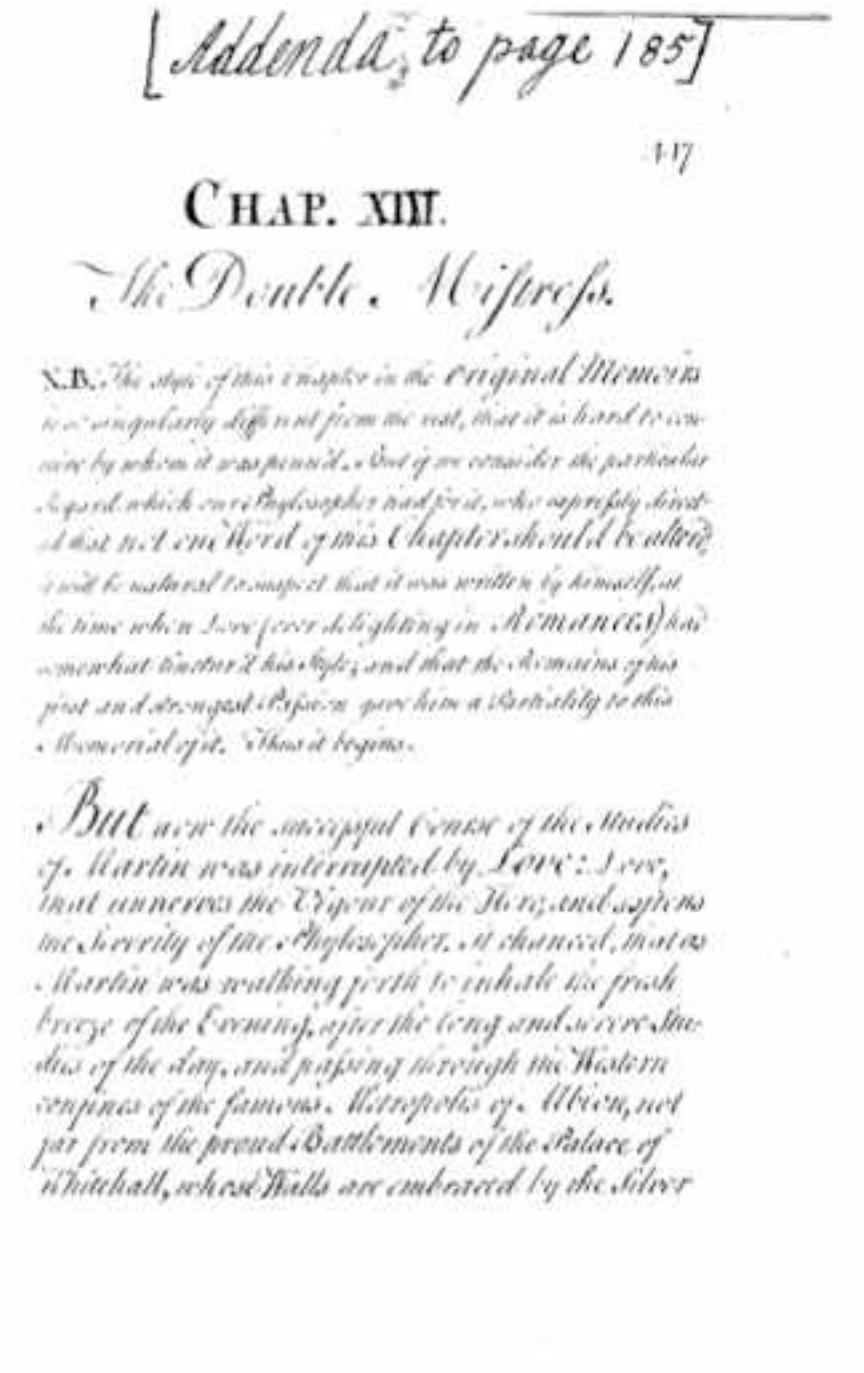
[4] Dustin Griffin, *Swift and Pope: Satirists in Dialogue* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010), 66–69.

[5] See Pat Rogers, *Essays on Pope* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1993), 1–27; Christopher Fox, *Locke and the Scriblerians: Identity and Consciousness in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1988); "Locke and the Scriblerians: The Discussion of Identity in Early Eighteenth-Century England," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 16.1 (1982): 1–25; Robert Lund, "Martinus Scriblerus and the Search for the Soul," *PLL* 25.2 (1989): 135–50; "Res et Verba: Scriblerian Satire and the Fate of Language" in *Science and Literature*, ed. Harry Raphael Garvin and James M. Heath (East Brunswick, NJ: Associated Univ. Presses, 1963), 63–81; Frank Palmeri, *Martinus Scriblerus*, Diderot's *Dream*, and Tiepolo's *Divertimento*: Eighteenth-Century Representations of Aggregate Identity," *Comparative Literature Studies* 38.4 (2001): 330–54; Dennis Todd, *Imagining Monsters*, 127–35; Judith Hawley, "Margins and Monstrosity: Martinus Scriblerus his 'Double Mistress,'" *Eighteenth-Century Life* 22.1 (1998): 31–49; Lisa Zunshine, "Vladimir Nabokov and the Scriblerians," in *Nabokov at Cornell*, ed. Gavriel Shapiro (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 2003), 161–171.



[Addenda to page 185]

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CHAP. XIII.

The Double Mistress.

N.B. The style of this chapter in the original Memoirs is so singularly different from the rest, that it is hard to conceive by whom it was penned. But if we consider the particular regard which our Biographer had for it, who expressly desired that not one word of this Chapter should be altered, it will be natural to suspect that it was written by himself, at the time when Love fever delighting in Romances) had somewhat tinctured his Style; and that the Remains of his first and strongest Passion gave him a Partiality to this Memorial of it. Thus it begins.

But now the principal Cause of the Studies of Martin was interrupted by Love: Love, that unnerves the Vigour of the Hero, and softens the Severity of the Philosopher. A charming Morning Martin was walking forth to inhale the fresh breeze of the Evening, after the long and severe Studies of the day, and passing through the Western Regions of the famous Metropolis of Albion, not far from the proud Battlements of the Palace of Whitehall, whose Walls are embraced by the Silver

1. Handwritten copy of expurgated "Double Mistress" episode in *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq., Vol 6* ed. William Warburton (London, 1751).

Most contemporary critics conceive of Pope's forays into Scriblerian satire as conservative mockeries of modern literature and learning.[6] Such longstanding assumptions have limited our capacity to see that his Scriblerian writings adapt then emergent Orientalist literature as a vehicle (not an object) for satire and speculation. When Pope and other Scriblerian satirists repurpose Orientalist sources in innovative parodies of established thought, they do not simply ridicule such learning, but pay ambivalent tribute to it as well. Pope, marginalized for his physical disability, religious identity, and autodidactic education, identified with his Scriblerian persona, which however ridiculous also embodied his paradoxical theory of how private form could arise from a context of deformity and formlessness. It was the pathos and irony of Pope's Scriblerian identification that compelled authors and critics to regard his hybrid mode of Counter-Enlightenment satire and Orientalist philosophy. While Pope's more orthodox advocates went so far as to expurgate the most infamous of his Scriblerian Orientalist imitations, his antagonists spawned an archive of distortions, denigrations, and Counter-Scriblerian burlesques. These interpretations co-existed and competed during Pope's lifetime and persisted for centuries after his death. Like no other club member, Pope invites and demands interpretation as both a Scriblerian satirist and as an Orientalist.

In *Alexander Pope: A Life*, Maynard Mack describes precedents for Scriblerian satire in the European skeptical tradition. Mack alternately cites the "foolosophy" of Erasmus, Rabelais's carnival laughter, Montaigne's skepticism, and the mock-profound

[6] Helen Deutsch highlights a pervasive dichotomy of form and deformity in Pope scholarship, as critics either foreground his aesthetic and ideological conservatism, or focus on his physical and cultural deformity, socio-economic hypocrisy, or misogynistic and imperialist worldview. Deutsch reads Pope's "conjunction of form with deformity," theorizing "deformity as a self-consciously created figure for Pope's poetics patterned after the poet's own person." I approach this "*trompe l'oeil* effect of reading for deformity" from the perspective of Pope's techniques of Scriblerian Orientalism. I contend that a formal method of Orientalist imitation structures the madness of the *Memoirs*, but also suggest that this Scriblerian strategy also exerts an influence on Pope's major ethical poems and satires. Helen Deutsch, *Resemblance and Disgrace: Alexander Pope and the Deformation of Culture*, 3–9.

picaresque of Cervantes. Each of these authors foreshadows a Scriblerian protagonist reared on false learning, who seeks out experiences and inquiries at the fringe of polite society and public visibility. Scriblerus is guided by non-normative enthusiasm for a world of unsettled and non-authoritative ideas. Mack contends that Pope betrays an "affability of tone" and a "more than usual degree of personal involvement" in his representations of Scriblerian pedantry. He had a "considerable surreptitious tolerance" for such folly, and exhibited a "distinctive taste for secrecy, dissimulation, and surreptitious action" in his engagements with curious learning.[7] Mack emphasizes Pope's voracious reading and autodidactic education. In his father's library, he devoured obscure books of philosophical speculation and theological controversy. Pope also studied "his own preferred model of Catholic behavior," and admired tolerant, moderate, and witty writers, who transcended the "theological hair-splitting" that justified factionalism and persecution.[8] Mack analyzes Pope's spirited and self-reflexive jottings in the margin of Montaigne's essay "On the Education of Children." Where Montaigne recommends a subjectively pleasing pedagogy, Pope writes, "*Alter ego* [just like me]." Montaigne criticizes pedagogues and dogmatists who impose their regimens on students, and "simply produce donkeys laden with books. They are flogged into retaining a pannierful of learning; but if it is to do any good, Learning must not only lodge with us: we must marry her."[9] While Montaigne's book-bearing donkey suggests a precedent for the 1729 frontispiece of *The Dunciad Variorum*, JoAllen Bradham attributes this frontispiece to a

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[7] Maynard Mack, "'Books and the Man': Pope's Library" in *Collected in Himself: Essays Critical, Biographical, and Bibliographical on Pope and Some of his Contemporaries* (Newark: Univ. of Delaware Press, 1982), 307–22, 394–460; 308; See also Mack, *Alexander Pope: A Life*, 49, 61, 82–83.

[8] Mack, *Alexander Pope: A Life*, 80.

[9] Michel Andrew Screech, trans. *The Complete Essays of Michel de Montaigne* (New York: Penguin, 1991), 199. Paul Ricoeur interprets Montaigne's reference to the "animal emblematic of silly memory plodding under the weight of imposed knowledge"; Ricoeur, *Memory, History, and Forgetting*, trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press, 2004), 67.

graphic imitation of the Qur'an [62:5]: "They that preach the Old Testament, and perform not what it enjoyneth, are like to an ass charged with books."[10] Pope subversively aligns his satire on the literary and intellectual culture of Britain with Montaigne's anti-authoritarian critique and with the Qur'an's denigration of a hypocritical and apostate "People of the Book."[11] During moments of intensified religious and political anxiety, Pope adopted such radical forms of self-identification. In 1716, he writes to Swift: "I suffer many things as an Author militant. . . . I suffer for my Religion in almost every weekly paper. . . . If it should happen hereafter that I should write for the holy law of Mahomet, I hope it will make no breach between you and me; every one must live, and I beg you will not be the man to manage the controversy against me."[12] These ironic and polemical identifications inform Pope's tolerance for pedantry. The book-bearing donkey is an emblem for the Orientalist *translatio studii* that subtends his satire on the dunces. As the *Dunciad* offers an expansive vision of the East-to-West *translatio stultitiae* of Dulness, Scriblerus explains this trajectory as a result of the relatively late advent of learning in Britain. In his ironic praise of the European Enlightenment, Scriblerus's

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[10] JoAllen Bradham, "An Ass Charged with Books: Pope's *Dunciad* and the Koran," *South Atlantic Review* 60.1 (1995): 1–15, 12, 1–4. Mack documents Pope's ownership of Orientalist works, such as Simon Ockley's 1708 translation of Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, Ludovico Marriccio's 1698 "copy of the Koran in Arabic and Latin," and two bound manuscripts donated to Robert Harley's immense private library and to the Bodleian at Oxford: "One is an MS in Arabic that Pope presented to his friend Lord Oxford in 1723. . . . a Theological Treatise written by Father San Hieronymo Shad, a Jesuit Missionary at Lohor and dedicated to Gjanghir the great Mogul, A.D. 1609." The other "is a manuscript consisting of colored miniatures of the Indian Kings and Moguls, which was procured at Surat by John Cleland (son of Pope's friend William), sent to Pope, and by him given to the Bodleian"; Mack, "'Pope's Library," 460, 315.

[11] Bradham, "An Ass Charged with Books," 11.

[12] George Sherburn highlights a letter Pope penned to John Caryll Sr. on the same day he wrote Swift (20 April 1716), in which he announces his enclosure of his pamphlet, which has "much entertained the town. *Item*, new designs with some of my friends for a satirical work, which I must've formerly mentioned to you. But were I to tell all, I should be endless"; Sherburn, ed. *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, Vol. 1* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), 342, 339. Further references cited *PC*.

iconoclastic comparison to its repressed anti-self (the Oriental seat of learning as well as Dulness)[13] both undermines and mocks the authority of Protestant rationalist ideology.

2. Pope's "ass charged with books," Frontispiece to *Dunciad with Notes Variorum and the Prolegomena of Scriblerus* (London, 1729).

[13] J.G.A. Pocock, "The Antiself of Enlightenment," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 60.1/2 (1997); 7-28.

Pope's techniques of Scriblerian Orientalism belong to an erudite "Enlightenment Orientalist" literary genre, which Srinivas Aravamudan distinguishes for its "doubled and doubling nature: inside and outside the nation, self-critical and also xenotropic, philosophical and also fantasmatic." Aravamudan depicts "a fictional mode for dreaming with the Orient—dreaming with it by constructing and translating fictions about it, unsettling its meaning, brooding over it."[14] He reconstructs Enlightenment Orientalist archives that enabled "a vibrant interrogation and critique of predecessor narratives by citation, parody, and juxtaposition."[15] His study does not identify the similarity between this Enlightenment Orientalist archive and the eccentric pedantry of Scriblerus, however. Such similarities are most apparent in the Double Mistress episode of the *Memoirs*, which features an allegory based on the three key texts Aravamudan cites as exemplars of esoteric Enlightenment Orientalism: Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, Giovanni Paolo Marana's *Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy*, and Daniel Defoe's *Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe*.[16] This chapter focuses in particular on Pope's imitations of Ibn Ṭufayl's twelfth-century Arabic tale, *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* ("Alive, son of Awake" or "Alive, son of Aware"). I argue that we can read Ibn Ṭufayl's mystical *bildungsroman* as a model for Scriblerus's progress of curious education in the *Memoirs*. When we recognize the structuring role of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* in the climactic Double Mistress allegory, we more

[14] Aravamudan, *Enlightenment Orientalism*, 8.

[15] Ibid., 10. Hugh Kenner, likewise, classifies the Scriblerian "art of sinking" as a satirical technique that operates "by juxtaposition, by parody, by the evocation of classic norms"; Hugh Kenner, *The Counterfeiters*, 12.

[16] Aravamudan, *Enlightenment Orientalism*, 16. See also Aravamudan, "The Adventure Chronotope and Orientalist Xenotrope: Galland, Sheridan, and Joyce Domesticate *The Arabian Nights*," in *The Arabian Nights in Historical Context: Between East and West*, 235–63; 240–41, 247, 257–58.

clearly apprehend the circular structure of the *Memoirs* and recognize that Scriblerus himself is the prodigy who passes on this fragmentary text in the editor's Introduction.

The editor of the *Memoirs* depicts Scriblerus as a consummate cultural outsider, religious other, and physical oddity. Scriblerus passes on a strange manuscript detailing his trajectory of curious learning, his marriage to a conjoined twin, and his conjunction with a *doppelgänger* ("Ebn-Hai Paw-Waw"). In the climactic inset episode of the *Memoirs*, which is separately entitled, "The Double Mistress. *A Novel*," Scriblerus's progress in philosophical learning culminates in an obscure allegory. In this complex literary imitation, Pope extends his neoclassical aesthetics into an innovative experiment involving Orientalist sources and an esoteric medium. Through the apparent deformity of the Double Mistress episode, Pope transmits the subversive form of his Scriblerian protagonist and author. Scriblerus thus embodies a satirical challenge to the rationalist foundations of British law and religion, but he also enters into a network of sympathy with protagonists drawn from an archive of esoteric Orientalist learning. Scriblerus epitomizes the anti-self of mainstream and orthodox British identity, yet his deviance attains a conceptual coherence and significance through its relationship to the structure of polemical Orientalist pedantry. In his representation of the Scriblerian protagonist, Pope offers a self-portrait of his own cultural, religious, and physical difference. Pope's private identification in the *Memoirs* differs from his public self-promotion as disembodied neoclassicist, Stoic moral philosopher, and scourge of the dunces. The following sections revisit Pope's abstruse Scriblerian "*Alter ego*" as a patterned adaptation of Ibn Ṭufayl's Arabic tale of the self-taught philosopher, *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*. This singular Orientalist imitation is not haphazard, for Pope's interpretations of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* also influence the cultural satire of *An Essay on Man* and the post-humanist philosophy of the *Dunciad*.

THE UR-TEXT OF SCRIBLERIAN ORIENTALISM: IBN ṬUFAYL'S *ḤAYY IBN YAQẒĀN*

Aravamudan describes *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* as the paradigm of an esoteric Enlightenment Orientalist genre: "Presented with a metafictional preface, [*Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*] offers 'a Glimpse of the Secret of Secrets,' as Ibn Ṭufayl claims to be revealing esoteric wisdom to a close friend" (*EO* 16). A physician, philosopher, Islamic theologian, and vizier of the Almohad caliph, Abu Yaqub Yusuf—Ibn Ṭufayl composed *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* in Marrakesh the 1160s. According to his twenty-first century translator, Lenn Evan Goodman, Ibn Ṭufayl develops "an indigenous, non-Western philosophy" to "replace unsatisfactory Greek transplants" in Western Europe, where "the philosophy he hopes to engage in is as rare as the philosopher's stone."[17] Edward Pococke Jr. (son of Oxford's first Chair of Arabic) translated Ibn Ṭufayl's text into Latin in 1671 as *Philosophus Autodidactus* ("The Self-Taught Philosopher"). The Quaker mystic, George Keith, and the Protestant rationalist, George Ashwell, each composed Latin-to-English translations, which appeared in 1674 and 1686. Simon Ockley translated the text from Arabic to English in 1708. Prior to accepting a position as the Sir Thomas Adams's professor of Arabic at Cambridge in 1711, Ockley served as librarian for Scriblerus Club member, Robert Harley, and as diplomatic translator for Pope's friend, Henry, St. John Bolingbroke.[18] Edward Said defines Ockley's *History of the Saracens* (1708) as "the first

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[17] *Ibn Ṭufayl's Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān: A Philosophical Tale*, trans. Lenn Evan Goodman (Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press, 2009), 143. Further references cited *HY*.

[18] In "The Rewards of Oriental Students," Isaac D'Israeli recalls Ockley'suntimely death in debtors' prison in 1720: "Some of these [Pharisees] Ockley met with on the publication of his first volume [of *History of the Saracens*]. . . [ran] it down as the strangest story they had ever heard; they had never met with such folks as the Arabians! . . . Shame on those pretended patrons who, appointing a 'professor of the oriental languages,' counteract the purpose of the professorship by their utter neglect of the professor, whose stipend cannot keep him on the spot where only he ought to dwell."; D'Israeli, *Calamities of Authors, vol. 2* (London, 1812), 221–22, 233–37. For an account of Pope's relation with Bolingbroke, see Brean S. Hammond, *Pope and Bolingbroke: A Study of Friendship and Influence* (Columbia, MO: Univ. of Missouri Press, 1984). On historical and poetic benefits of Orientalism, see Ockley, *Proposal for printing by subscription the second Volume of the History of the Saracens* (London, 1716), 1, 5–6.

major work of Oriental scholarship" in Britain, yet he explains that Ockley was "careful to dissociate himself from the infectious influence of Islam, and unlike his colleague William Whiston (Newton's successor at Cambridge), he always made it clear that Islam was an outrageous heresy. For Islamic enthusiasm, on the other hand, Whiston was expelled from Cambridge in 1709."[19] Pope admired the more radical scholar, Whiston, and he never cited Ockley as an influence, despite his numerous allusions to *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*. In 1713, Pope wrote that Whiston provoked his speculations on human nature: "Good God! what an incongruous animal is Man? . . . what is Man altogether, but one mighty inconsistency?"[20] While Pope associates Whiston's scholarship with ascents into philosophical vision and descents into painful self-knowledge, he also adapts this metaphor of rising and falling from Ockley's translation of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*. Pope imitates the provocative metaphor that Ibn Ṭufayl's narrator communicates in his account of the protagonist's enthusiastic collapse into knowledge. The passage provokes Ockley's disparaging footnote linking the "extreamly ridiculous" depiction to "a superstitious custom" of "Mahometans."[21] Pope instead regards Ibn Ṭufayl as a sage and also a wit, and he interprets the character of his self-taught prodigy in a controversial manner.

The story of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* consists of a mystical philosophical tale, in which a feral child discovers his individual identity and relationship with the Divinity without

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[19] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1979), 75–76. Said is alluding to George Orwell's 1939 essay, "Marrakech." See Orwell, *A Collection of Essays* (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1954), 187.

[20] Pope writes of Whiston's influence "You can't wonder my thoughts are scarce consistent, when I tell you how they are distracted! Every hour of my life, my mind is strangely divided. This minute, perhaps, I am above the stars, with a thousand systems round about me . . . the next moment I am below all trifles . . . in the very center of nonsense" (*PC* i.187–88). Edith Sitwell associates this letter with Scriblerian schemes: "[H]e . . . calculated to impress the countrified Mr. Caryll, though for some inscrutable reason, in the editions of the Correspondence published in 1735, Pope chose to readdress the letter to Addison!"; Sitwell, *Alexander Pope* (New York: Cosmopolitan Book Co., 1930), 113. Further references cited *S*.

[21] Ibn Ṭufayl, *The Improvement of Human Reason, exhibited in the Life of Hai Ebn Yokdhan*, trans. Simon Ockley (London, 1708), 117.

access to either books or language.[22] Ibn Ṭufayl's narrator presents two possible explanations for the protagonist's arrival on a desert island: either he is cast into the sea as the product of a princess's illicit affair, or he is spontaneously generated in a grubby parthenogenesis of mud, sunlight, and warmth. A maternal gazelle hears the cries of the infant, and adopts Ḥayy as her own. After the gazelle dies, the infant yearns to discover the material principle of life so that he may revive his animal mother. In the process of dissecting the gazelle, he notices a gaseous vapor emitted from the cavities of her heart, which he compares to the properties of a recent wildfire. While he fails to locate the material principle of life, Ḥayy begins a systematic progress of inquiry into the four elements and four bodily humors, which occupies him from the ages of fourteen to twenty-one. Between the ages of twenty-one to twenty-eight, Ḥayy explores how the plural parts of the body inhere in the operation of a single organism, just as a taxonomy of natural forms differentiate from the single principle of life animating them. From twenty-eight to thirty-five, Ḥayy attempts to isolate the ultimate cause and originator of natural forms through his temporal connection to the material phenomena of the universe. By thirty-five, Ḥayy realizes that this ideal voluntary agent cannot be found in objects themselves, but it can only be intuited through certain forms of intentional imitation. Ḥayy desires to embody the ideal form and unified identity of this being, so he spins in circles to mimic the perfect motion of the cosmos. In his attempt to transcend the material world by imitating its most stable and regular forms of movement, Ḥayy grows tired and dizzy, collapses downward, and discovers his bodily limitations. This is also the crucial moment in which Ḥayy realizes the fundamental duality of his connection to two separate

[22] For a brief account of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*'s intellectual and textual history in relation to Islamic philosophy and neo-Platonic mysticism, see Matthew Reilly, "Neither eye has seen, nor ear heard: Arabic Sources for Quaker Subjectivity in Unca Eliza Winkfield's *The Female American*" *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 44.2 (2011): 261–83.

3. Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān attempts to revive his mother gazelle and begins his pursuit of the principle of life. In *The Improvement of Human Reason, exhibited in the Life of Hai Ebn Yokdhan*. trans. Simon Ockley (London, 1708).

realms of material and immaterial existence: "*For this World in which we live, and that other are like two Wives belonging to the same Husband; if you please one you displease the other*."[23] The analogy of Ḥayy's double-marriage to the worlds of matter and of ideal form emblematizes the painful and negative self-knowledge that he attains at the apex of

[23] Ibn Ṭufayl, *The Improvement of Human Reason*, trans. Simon Ockley, 135.

4. Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān reaches apex of his progress as a natural philosopher and discovers his double-marriage to the worlds of matter and ideal form. In *The Improvement of Human Reason, exhibited in the Life of Hai Ebn Yokdhan*. trans. Simon Ockley (London, 1708).

his revolutionary progress as a prodigy of natural philosophy. Importantly, Ḥayy's progress does not conclude upon this paradoxical revelation of ontological duality.

By the age of forty-nine, Ḥayy has attained such a vivid subjective awareness of the realm of abstract form that he comes face-to-face with the Divinity and confronts the theoretical identity and multiplicity of his own being. He arrives at this incommunicable revelation through deliberate self-reflection and through practices of self-restraint. After

his progress in natural philosophy and his collapse downward into matter, Ḥayy develops a negative ethics to restrict the impact of his assertive and irrational physical impulses. First, he spins to imitate the formal motion of the heavens and to remind himself of his embodied existence. Second, he strives to attain the Creator's compassion for irrational creatures by adopting an ascetic vegetarian diet and by preserving the life of animals and plants on his island. Third, he retreats into his cave and meditatively purges all ideas foreign to his abstract connection with the one Divine and "Necessarily Existent Being" (*HY* 143). Ḥayy spends consecutive days without consciousness of the material world or his own existence within it. Ibn Ṭufayl's narrator intervenes to alert the reader to the impossibility of transmitting this ineffable experience, which Ḥayy has been able attain without language or instruction: "Now do not set your heart on a description of what has never been experienced in the human heart. . . . [by 'heart' I mean] the form of that spirit which spreads its powers throughout the human body. . . . The ambition to put this into words is reaching for the impossible—like wanting to taste colors."[24] The narrator offers figurative hints regarding Ḥayy's achievement of a mystical awareness in his personal connection to the Divinity. As Ḥayy acquires an identity through implicit knowledge of his creator, he envisions this confounding identity as a multiple being that merges "into one entity" with "every disembodied being that knows Him" (*HY* 150). Acknowledging the paradox of Ḥayy's simultaneous realization of his own identity and multiplicity, the narrator introduces a hypothetical rationalist opponent. This straw man chastises the narrator's irrational conflation of identity and non-identity: "This time your hair-splitting

[24] Ibn Ṭufayl, *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān: A Philosophical Tale*, trans. Lenn Evan Goodman, 149. In part one of *It cannot Rain but it Pours, or . . . London strew'd with Rarities*, Arbuthnot depicts the vegetarian Arabian ambassadors who visit London, "It is as impossible to give them a Notion of a Lawyer as to make a Blind Man comprehend Colours, or a Courtier Honesty: For we cannot by any Medium explain Fraud and Flattery to them." Part two features "Peter the Wild Boy" in a parallel satire. *It cannot Rain but it Pours, or . . . London strew'd with Rarities* (London, 1726), i.8

has gone too far. You have shed what the intelligent know by instinct and abandoned the rule of reason. It is an axiom of reason that a thing must be either one or many!" Ibn Ṭufayl's narrator corrects the dogmatic and self-contradictory axioms of this rationalist:

> Now if . . . he could only suspect himself and consider the vile, sensory world in which he lives, consider it as Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān did, when from one point of view it seemed plural beyond number or term; and from another a monolith. Ḥayy could not decide one way or the other, but remained oscillating between the two descriptions. Such a quandary over the sense world, the birthplace and proper home of whatever legitimate understanding is conveyed by 'singular' and 'plural', 'discrete' and 'continuous', 'separate' and 'conjoined', 'identical' and 'other', 'same' and 'different'. . . . He says I have 'left what every sound mind is born with and abandoned the rule of reason'. . . . But the kind of understanding I am speaking of transcends all this. (151–52)

The narrator describes Ḥayy's vision of the cosmos as a succession of mirrors reflecting the immaterial form of light that is transcendentally immanent in the "descending order of spheres" of an Emanative cosmos.[25] As this ray of Divine light cascades downward into the material world through the mirrors of the spheres, it finally strikes the reflective surface of a pool and displays the form of Ḥayy's intervening body: "It was as though the form of the sun were shining in rippling water from the last mirror in the sequence, reflected down the series from the first, which faced directly into the sun. Suddenly he caught sight of himself as an unembodied subject" (153). This unembodied subjectivity is a shadow and formal outline of Ḥayy's narcissistic, downward-tending body. He views

[25] Jacob Brucker outlines an Emanationist cosmology of ten heavenly spheres called "Sephirae," which flow from an eternal fountain ["En-Soph"] of existence. In its attempt to think itself in one thought, the hidden Godhead emanates a twofold intelligent form and material principle downward through seven supra-lunary spheres (marked by the planets of the solar system). These emanative channels serve as the means "through which the Deity diffuses himself through the sphere of the universe." This is also a medium of distortion: "Spirits of all orders have a material vehicle, less pure and subtle, in proportion to their distance from En-Soph; and this vehicle is of the nature of the world next below that to which they belong." After divine intelligence descends through the Sefirae, it enters matter as a spark: "Matter is nothing more than the most remote effect of the emanative energy of the Deity." He explains that Emanationism arrived in Christian Europe alongside translations of a "philosopher [who] employed the Aristotelean doctrine, as an instrument of enthusiasm, in the elegant tale, still extant, of *Hai Ebn Yockdan*"; Brucker, *History of Philosophy*, trans. William Enfield (London, 1791), 245.

this shadowy form as an emanation from—not an identity with—the enlightening ray of a Divine Being. Through self-conscious meditative exercises to purge traces of his physical body, Ḥayy attains an awareness of the unembodied subjective form of his own being, yet this revelation exceeds the scope of either rational contemplation or literalist expression.

In the wake of Ḥayy's mystical realization of his immaterial self, Ibn Ṭufayl's narrator shifts to the more quotidian explanation of the protagonist's encounter with mankind. He introduces the nearby island of Salāmān, where an eminently rationalist society worships a common religion governed by priests and politicians. A wandering ascetic named Absāl departs from this island and stumbles upon Ḥayy, the language-less and self-taught prodigy. When Absāl teaches Ḥayy words and finds that they agree in their conception of the Divinity, the two travel to Salāmān's island as missionaries. The people of this island treat Ḥayy with repugnance and mockery, because their "inborn infirmary simply would not allow them to seek Him as Ḥayy did, to grasp the true essence of His being and see Him in his own terms. They wanted to know him in some human way" (163). In his disillusionment, Ḥayy undertakes an objective study of society on Salāman's island: "Then, class by class, he studied mankind. He saw 'every faction delighted with its own.' They hade made their passions their god, and desire the object of their worship. They destroyed each other to collect the trash of this world. . . . They are engulfed in ignorance" (163). Before Ḥayy ultimately retracts his preaching to avoid legal repercussions and retreats with Absāl back to his original island, he "understood the human condition. He saw that most men are no better than unreasoning animals" (164). In the final pages of Ibn Ṭufayl's narrative, the former optimism of Ḥayy's autodidactic learning is reversed into a critique of human degeneracy and corruption in a social state.

In *Reading Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān: A Cross-Cultural History of Autodidacticism*, Avner Ben-Zaken depicts the reception of Ibn Ṭufayl's text in the progressive

utopiangenres of seventeenth-century Europe. In such genres, Ben-Zaken claims, fantastic fictions served as "laboratories where philosophers could imagine, openly and without fear of persecution, the spontaneous generation of monsters, exceptional creatures, and even human beings capable of knowing nature and God without the burden of traditional authority."[26] Although *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* encouraged speculative, scientific, and critical thought that challenged religious and philosophical dogmatism, it also furnished Pope with Counter-Enlightenment critiques against emergent modern discourses of individual rationality, social politeness, and participation in the public-sphere. In the schema of Ibn Ṭufayl's tale, the rationalist island of Salāmān is a site of anthropocentric dogmatism, ethnocentric bigotry, and burdensome censorship. Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān consciously rejects this island's normative ideologies, and he distinguishes himself from the social animal, "Man." Pope emphasized the irrationality, enthusiasm, and anti-normative aspects of Ibn Tufayl's protagonist. His aim was not to stigmatize Ibn Ṭufayl's ungovernable fancy, but to appropriate his critique of rationality, co-opt his post-humanist *bildungsroman*, and imitate his esoteric modes of figuration. Most significantly, Pope attended to *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*'s polemical emphasis on embodied subjectivity as the dominant heuristic for analyzing humankind. Ibn Ṭufayl neither presupposes the abstract concept of human identity, nor takes for granted the self-evident existence of the soul. He instead portrays the progress of a protagonist who must discover his own material and immaterial being. Aaron Hughes situates Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* in "a distinct genre" of medieval "initiatory tales," in which authors employ "poetic techniques in order to aid the reader to grasp certain supertextual truths." To grasp the didactic significance of this genre, readers must establish a relationship with the

[26] Avner Ben-Zaken, *Reading Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān: A Cross-Cultural History of Autodidacticism* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2011), 125.

protagonist: "There is an intimate correspondence between the protagonist of the journey and the reader, as both are invited to participate in an initiation that takes place against the backdrop of a specific cosmology."[27] Likewise, Pope reconfigures *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* to conform to various cosmologies of the rarity show in Scriblerus's *Memoirs*, the island in *An Essay on Man*, and the empire of Dulness in his *Dunciad*. By analyzing these separate but interrelated imitations of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, the following sections trace Pope's hitherto unacknowledged mode of Orientalist imitation.

RE-ORIENTING THE DOUBLE MISTRESS IN *THE MEMOIRS OF MARTINUS SCRIBLERUS*

At the height of his progress of naturalist inquiry, Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān ascends to a private vision of his double marriage to a material and an immaterial world, and he then collapses downward out of dizziness. In the Double Mistress episode of *The Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus*, the protagonist acquires a prodigious identity through his simultaneous marriage to two separate lovers, named Lindamira-Indamora. Scriblerus's burlesque affair with a conjoined twin also involves him in a rivalry with Ebn-Hai Paw-Waw, a dwarfish African prince in the same London rarity show. When an absurd legal trial approves this double marriage and conjoins Scriblerus and Ebn-Hai Paw-Waw in a single legal identity, the House of Lords abolishes the decision, dissolves the marriage, and prompts Scriblerus's exile from Britain. In this notorious inset tale, listed in the table of contents of the *Memoirs* as "The Double Mistress. *A Novel*," Pope miniaturizes the dilemma of Ibn Ṭufayl's spinning protagonist in a complex narrative, which synthesizes three provocative Orientalist imitations. Pope borrows his description of the conjoined twin from Giovanni Paolo Marana's *Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy*. The *doppelganger*

[27] Aaron Hughes, *Textures of the Divine: Imagination in Medieval Islamic and Jewish Thought* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana Univ. Press, 2004), 39–40.

and rival of Scriblerus, Ebn-Hai Paw-Waw, combines a reference to *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* with an Occidentalist allusion to the "Paw-Waw" detailed in Defoe's *Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe*. Pope integrates these sources in a philosophical parody on the ideology of rationalist individualism, and embodies the subversive Scriblerian hero as a conjunction of Islamic philosophy, Orientalist spy literature, and Native American ritual. Instead of reading Pope's Double Mistress as a mere inversion of his polite neoclassical aesthetics, this section will instead analyze its obscure and polemical Orientalist allegory.

In the editor's introduction of *The Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus*, the protagonist and author infiltrates London and passes on the manuscript. The editor recounts his discovery of the manuscript and encounter with Scriblerus in the vicinity of St. James Palace in 1714—the date and location for the first gatherings of the Scriblerus Club. Having been "carried abroad as a dangerous person, without any regard to the known Laws of the Kingdom," Scriblerus has once again returned to Britain. The introduction begins with the text's single and sole physical description of Scriblerus:

> His Stature was tall, his visage long, his complexion olive, his brows were black and even. . . . His Wig was as black and smooth as the plumes of a Raven. . . . His Cloak so completely covered his whole person, that whether or no he had any other cloaths (much less any linnen) under it, I shall not say; but his sword appear'd a full yard behind him, and his manner of wearing it was so stiff, that it seem'd grown to his Thigh. His whole figure was so utterly unlike any thing of this world, that it was not natural for any man to ask him a question without blessing himself first. Those who never saw a *Jesuit*, took him for one, and others believed him some *High Priest of the Jews*. But under this macerated form was conceal'd a Mind replete with Science, burning with a Zeal of benefitting his fellow creatures, and filled with an honest conscious Pride, mixt with a scorn of doing or suffering the least thing beneath the dignity of a Philosopher. (*MS* 91)

Scriblerus's complexion suggests his foreign identity, and his cloak suggestively draws attention to an underlying physical deformity. This cloak "so completely covered his whole person" that it suggests his nakedness, just as the sword "grown to his Thigh"

resembles a grotesque appendage or possibly even a tail. The editor portrays Scriblerus's otherworldly character, and recalls how his presence inspires both religious awe and fear of contamination: "it was not natural for any man to ask him a question without blessing himself first." Scriblerus fails to pass as a normal British Protestant, and his figure compels others to identify him as a "*Jesuit*" or a "*High Priest of the Jews*." Despite the negative connotations of Scriblerus's "macerated form," the editor praises his prodigious mind and "Zeal of benefitting his fellow creatures." The editor, furthermore, discovers a manuscript "dropt from under his cloak," which "contain'd many most profound Secrets, in an unusual turn of reasoning and style. . . . The Book was of so wonderful a nature, that it is incredible what a desire I conceived that moment to be acquainted with the Author, who, I clearly perceived, was some great Philosopher in disguise" (*MS* 91–92).

The editor writes a letter "in the Latin tongue," acquainting Scriblerus with his perusal of the found manuscript, entitled "*Codicillus, seu Liber Memorialis, Martini Scribleri*." He meets Scriblerus and hears an explanation concerning the causes of his "macerated form." In one lengthy quotation, Scriblerus divulges the sources of his deformity. He directly addresses the editor and reader: "Courteous stranger, whoever thou art, I embrace thee as my best friend; for either the Stars and my Art are deceitful, or the destin'd time is come to manifest Martinus Scriblerus to the world, and thou the person chosen by Fate for this task." Scriblerus reveals the physical effects of his inquiries into the phenomena of nature: "What thou seest in me is a body exhausted by the labours of the mind. I have found Dame Nature not indeed an unkind, but a very coy Mistress. . . . and endless labours must be the lot of all who pursue her, through her labyrinths and meanders." In pursuit of his mistress, "Dame Nature," Scriblerus has travelled to faraway climes, which have altered his physique and complexion: "My first vital air I drew in this Island (a soil fruitful of Philosophers) but my complexion is

become adust, and my body arid, by visiting lands . . . *alio sub sole calentes* ['warmed by another sun']."[28] Since Scriblerus's discovery of the Philosopher's Stone, he has assumed disguises to "screen" himself "from the envy and malice which mankind express against those who are possessed of the *Arcanum Magnum*" (92). His "insatiable curiosity" to witness "all the grand Phaenomena of Nature" has also caused one rival to pursue him "through the whole terraqueous globe" (93). While in Madrid, Scriblerus viewed a curious woman akin to the conjoined twin he encounters in the Double Mistress episode of the *Memoirs*. The husband of this woman intercepts his letters "containing expressions of a doubtful meaning." Scriblerus declares that he "suspected me of a crime most alien from the Purity of my Thoughts." This admission of a deviant curiosity foreshadows the Double Mistress—an episode Scriblerus holds in "particular regard" (143). He insists on his "Purity" of intention in such compromising scenes, however. Scriblerus then bestows his *Memoirs* to the sympathetic editor: "To thee, my Friend, whom Fate has marked for my Historiographer, I leave these my Commentaries, and others of my works. No more—be faithful and impartial." The editor encourages readers to contrast the deformity of Scriblerus's body with the purity of his mind, and he urges them to read an esoteric form in the burlesque narrative. Furthermore, he assures readers that they will obtain no further evidence regarding Scriblerus, who is now "either dead, or carry'd by his vehement thirst of knowledge into some remote, or perhaps undiscover'd Region of the world" (94).

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[28] See Ros Ballaster, *Fabulous Orients: Fictions of the East in England,* 1662–1785 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2005), 17, 14; Clement Hawes, *The British Eighteenth Century and Global Critique* (New York: Palgrave, 2005), 202–3; Roxanne Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century Culture* (Philadelphia, PA: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 2, 39; Cf. Helena Woodard, *African American Writings in the Eighteenth Century: The Politics of Race and Reason* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 9, 20; See also Colin Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999), 42.

The manuscript of the *Memoirs* reveals Scriblerus as a prodigious genius who communicates his exceptional knowledge in an uncommon manner. The early chapters of his *Memoirs* consist of a *bildungsroman*, which reveals the emergence of his character as a profound philosopher of nature. As an infant, Scriblerus utters in "the voice of nine several animals." His father, Cornelius, "was greatly rejoiced at all these signs, which betokened the variety of his Eloquence, and the extent of his Learning" (*MS* 99). The event of Martinus's baptism coincides with the exposure of his father's false antiquarian learning, however. As Cornelius's maid scrubs the rusty relic shield, which is to serve as Martin's baptismal tub, she inadvertently reveals it as a "paultry old *Sconce*, with the nozzle broke off."[29] When Cornelius recovers from embarrassment, he transfers "*the Rust of Antiquity*" from the false artifact of his shield to a scheme for instructing his son. As a child, Scriblerus consumes gingerbread cookies carved into foreign languages, and he contracts "so early a Relish for the Eastern way of writing, that even at this time he composed (in imitation of it) the *Thousand and One Arabian Tales*, and also the *Persian Tales*, which have since been translated into several languages, and lately into our own with particular elegance, by Mr. Ambrose Philips" (108). A member of Joseph Addison's circle and a Whig rival of Pope, Philips proposed rational British readers might discern moral allegories and hortatory satires in the irrational fancy of his pseudo-Orientalist genre.[30] Pope refers to Philips in his *Epistle to Arbuthnot* as the "bard whom pilfer'd

[29] See Joseph M. Levine, *Dr. Woodward's Shield: History, Science, and Satire in Augustan England* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1977). Cornelius states, "Wisely was it said by Homer, that in the Cellar of Jupiter are two barrels, the one of good, the other of evil, which he never bestows on mortals separately, but constantly mingles them together. . . . the Rust of Antiquity which he hath been pleas'd to take from my Shield, may be added to my Son; and that so much of it as it is my purpose he shall contract in his Education, may never be destroyed by any Modern Polishing" (*MS* 105).

[30] Pope ridicules the childish simplicity of his French to English translation of Petis de la Croix's *Persian Tales*. See the Preface, Ambrose Philips, *Persian Tales; or, One Thousand and One Days* (London, 1714–15); The Free-Thinker, vol. 1, 3 vols. (London, 1722), 225, 339. Edith Sitwell details Pope's satires on Philips: "when 'Martin Scriblerus' was published, years afterwards, we find that Pope remembered Mr. Philips very adequately, in that section of the book which is called 'The Art of Sinking in Poetry.' In this,

pastorals renown,/ Who turns a Persian tale for half a crown" (i.179–80). He ridicules Philips's moralizing and facile pseudo-Orientalist genre as a childish form of imitation and a self-aggrandizing, hypocritical ploy appealing to mass popular consumption. In contrast to Scriblerus's juvenile tastes for Philips's style, the narrator of the *Memoirs* praises the more prodigious character of his mature genius: "let it be celebrated in every language, learned and unlearned! let the Latin, the Greek, the Arabian, the Coptic; let the Tongues of many-languag'd men, nay of Animals, be employed to resound it!" (*MS* 166).

Scriblerus's uncommon course of education leads him to pursue the immaterial principle of individual identity, which Philips and Addison take for granted in their appeals to a rational readership. His passionate curiosity and erudite engagement with pedantry, furthermore, puts to shame Philips's simplistic and nationalistic Oriental genre.[31] Insofar as Pope patterns Scriblerus's *bildungsroman* and its climactic Double Mistress episode on the narrative of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, he also portrays his philosopher's desire to discover the real essence of identity without recourse to authoritative tradition. Pope encodes an Orientalist polemic on the "crackpot" rationalist ideology motivating Philips's genre.[32] Philips asserts his own objective sober-minded rationality on the basis of inherited cultural maxims, and affiliates his own practical morality with the truths provided by an abstract individualized self-consciousness (with no solidity or extension

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poor Namby Pamby is held up as the greatest master of the 'Infantine,' and of 'Inanity, or Nothingness'"; Sitwell, *Alexander Pope*, 112, 76. Madeline Dobie defines this early eighteenth-century "Oriental aesthetic" as an "appetite for storytelling and for prose that is vivid, imagistic, or rhythmic." She also notes a wider "literary spectrum of pastiches, parodies, and commentaries . . . in which attitudes to Oriental literature and culture are inextricably intertwined with judgments about contemporary European literature and culture"; Dobie, "Translation in the Contact Zone: Antoine Galland's Mille et une Nuits: contes arabes" in *The Arabian Nights in Historical Context: Between East and West*, 25–51; 39–41.

[31] Pope, significantly, attempted a similarly ambitious generic experiment in his pseudonymous mock-condemnation of his own erudite pastorals (and praise of Philips's namby-pamby pastorals) in *Guardian* no. 40.

[32] On "crackpot" materialism and its relation to "crackpot" realism, see John Sitter, *Arguments of Augustan Wit* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991), 31–32, 147–53.

in space) and a human rationality untainted by his body or environment. His purportedly 'rationalist' Oriental genre consists of nativist fictions that flatter his readership and define them in opposition to a hypothetical Oriental other. In Scriblerus's *bildungsroman*, we find the character of a reductive materialist, who ultimately learns to express his insight in extravagant, provocative analogies. As a child, Scriblerus's thought is "so totally immers'd in *sensible objects*" that he cannot grasp an abstract concept without a physical analogy. When Cornelius learns of his son's antipathy to abstract concepts, he provides him with a fellow pupil, who can only devise abstractions upon words. Crambe or "Crambo" teaches Scriblerus the art of unstable and opportunistic figuration (the self-consciously expressive mode of Ibn Ṭufayl's narrator), which allows him to unite his sublime physical sensibility with the profound gravity of his inquiries. Scriblerus's studies of human identity inspire a radical "*Society of* Freethinkers," which believes "*Self-consciousness* cannot inhere in any system of Matter, because all matter is made up of several distinct beings, which never can make up one individual thinking being." They offer a grotesque image of human identity: "So in the Animal, the Self-consciousness is not a real quality inherent in one Being (any more than meat roasting in a Jack) but the result of several modes of qualities in the same subject" (138–39). They also write of their invention of an "artificial Man," which "(being wound up once a week) will perhaps reason as well as most of your Country Parsons" (141). As a "*learned Inquisitor into Nature*," Scriblerus reaches conclusions that parody the moral authority of Pope's rationalist Whig rivals. In the final chapters before Scriblerus sets sail for the East, he gains an esoteric transformative insight into the paradoxical duality of individual identity.

The climax of Scriblerus's *bildungsroman* takes place in the infamous Double Mistress chapters, which feature his courtship of Lindamira-Indamora and conjunction with Ebn-Hai Paw-Waw. After a torn-out thirteenth chapter, the fourteenth and fifteenth

chapters contain this notorious inset "*Novel*" of the Double Mistress. Scriblerus becomes immersed in an affair with Lindamira-Indamora—two characters whose "lives . . . run in an eternal parallel" (146). He first witnesses Lindamira-Indamora and Ebn-Hai Paw-Waw on a canvas advertisement for Mr. Randall's circus. He envisions the "two Cubits high . . . black Prince of Monomotapa" alongside "the portrait of two Bohemian Damsels, whom Nature had as closely united as the ancient Hermaphroditus and Salmacis" (143). Upon entering the inner tent of this circus, Scriblerus casts his eyes on Lindamira-Indamora and utters a confirmed antipathy to social and aesthetic norms: "Heavens! how I wonder at the Stupidity of mankind, who can affix the opprobrious Name of Monstrosity to what is only a Variety of Beauty, and a Profusion of generous Nature? If there are charms in one face, one mouth, one body; if there are charms in two eyes, two breasts, two arms; are they not doubled in the Object of my Passion?" (147).[33] In the secretive love-letter to Lindamira, which he transmits by bribing Ebn-Hai Paw-Waw, Scriblerus explains, "I have call'd upon Nature to make a new head, new arms, and a new body to sprout from this single Trunk of mine, and to double every member, so to render me a proper Mate to so lovely a Pair!" (149). This affair is complicated by Indamora's jealousy and Mr. Randall's interception of Scriblerus's letters. Mr. Randall marries Indamora to the black dwarf, Ebn-Hai Paw-Waw, and he charges Scriblerus with "Bigamy, Rape, or Incest" (161). Scriblerus and Ebn-Hai Paw-Waw's two lawyers propose materialist and immaterialist definitions of Lindamira-Indamora's identity, and offer competing justifications for their claimants' rightful marriages. The jury ascertains the twins to be "distinct persons," such that "both the marriages are good and valid." The decision

[33] The narrator explains, "Lindamira's eyes were of a lively blue; Indamora's were black and piercing. . . . Lindamira's tresses were of paler Gold, while the locks of Indamora were black and glossy as the plumes of a Raven" (MS 146).

requires Scriblerus and Ebn-Hai Paw-Waw to share legal, moral, and sexual responsibilities, as they reside "'under a stricter Tye than common brothers-in-law; that being, as it were, Joint Proprietors of one common Tenement" (162–63).[34] The jury pronounces a bawdy injunction on this precarious arrangement: "Consider also by how small Limits the Duty and the Trespass is divided, lest, while ye discharge the duty of Matrimony, ye heedlessly slide into the sin of Adultery."[35] When the House of Lords deems the court's decision "a natural, as well as legal absurdity" (163), Scriblerus shamefully departs Britain and sets sail for Africa and Asia, where he re-emerges as a sublime prodigy of curious learning. Ebn-Hai Paw-Waw returns with his Mistress to the extralegal sanctum of the London rarity show, where he has been baptized as a Christian.

Judith Hawley, Lisa Zunshine, and Dennis Todd have identified Scriblerus's love-object as a topical reference to Judith and Helena—the conjoined twins exhibited at Charing Cross, London in 1708, discussed in Richard Steele's *Tatler* no. 118 (10 January 1709), and analyzed in several numbers of *The British Apollo; or, Curious Amusements for the Ingenious*.[36] I do not dispute this reading, for it is true that Pope and Arbuthnot each commented on these twins. But there is another aspect in which the Double Mistress functions as a provocative imitation of Orientalist fiction. In 1903, G.W. Niven explained Lindamira-Indamora as an allusion to the seventh volume of *Letters Writ by a Turkish*

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[34] In his *Gnothi Seauton. Know your self* (1734), John Arbuthnot employs the tenant/tenement distinction to contrast materialist and transcendental notions of subjectivity: "This Frame, compacted with transcendent Skill,/ Of moving Joints, obedient to my Will;/ Nurs'd from the fruitful Glebe, like yonder Tree,/ Waxes and wastes; I call it Mine, not Me:/ New Matter still the mould'ring Mass sustains,/ The Mansion chang'd, the Tenant still remains" (2).

[35] Scriblerus and Ebn-Hai Paw-Waw's rivalry is structured by a mimetic desire to obtain the properties of the other. See René Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, trans. Patrick Gregory (New York: Continuum Books, 2005), 152–79.

[36] See Dennis Todd, *Imagining Monsters*, 127–35; Judith Hawley, "Margins and Monstrosity: Martinus Scriblerus his 'Double Mistress,'" *Eighteenth-Century Life* 22.1 (1998): 31–49; Lisa Zunshine, "Vladimir Nabokov and the Scriblerians," in *Nabokov at Cornell*, ed. Gavriel Shapiro (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 2003), 161–171.

Spy.[37] In this epistolary narrative, the protagonist interprets the birth of a conjoined twin as a foreshadowing of the eclipse of European learning and law, but also as an omen portending the Islamic and Ottoman overthrow of Western Europe. In the seventh volume of the *Turkish Spy*, Mahmut writes from Hungary to "Cara Hali, Physician to the Grand Signior" about "a Woman . . . lately deliver'd of a Monstrous Child with Two Heads, Two Necks, Four Arms, and proportionably all Parts both outward and inward double to the Navil, which seem'd to be the Center of Union between the two Bodies."[38] He states:

> Such strange productions as these, occasion various enquiries among the philosophers here in the West: Whether human souls be generated like the bodies to which they are united, or whether they are created by the immediate power of God. Assuredly these infidels are much in the dark, and shut their eyes against the light of the Oriental sages. If the Prophets should rise from the dead, they would not be able to convince these uncircumcised, that all things visible and invisible are from eternity, and that there is nothing new in the system of the universe, except the various outward forms, which change indeed according to the laws of endless transmigration, and sometimes according to the frolics of nature, who loves to mix her interludes and anticks with the established sense of every age.[39]

Mahmut assures his reader that Nature's "interludes and anticks" strike anyone who does not "shut their eyes against the light of Oriental sages." Meanwhile, he accuses both Christian theologians and rationalists of willfully contradicting the evidence of their senses. Pope certainly knew of Mahmut's symbolic interpretation of this conjoined

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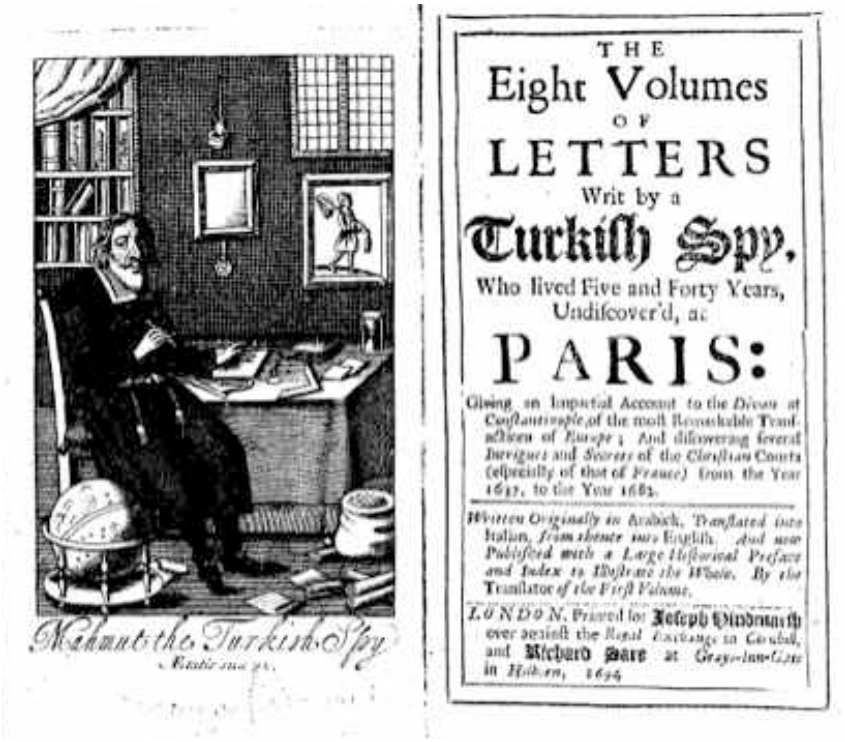
[37] G.W. Niven, ed. *The British Apollo* (Paisley: London, 1903), 59–70. See also William H. McBurney, "Authorship of the Turkish Spy" *PMLA* 72.5 (1957): 915–35, 925. The names "Lindamira" and "Indamora" also consist of a literary imitation of *The Lover's Secretary: or, The Adventures of Lindamira* (London, 1713). Pope and Arbuthnot's Annus Mirabilis, portrays a cosmic event of "the Metamorphostical Conjunction; a word which denotes the mutual Transformation of Sexes." Their narrator explains: "It was not until [Man] had made a faux pas, that he had his Female Mate (first joined to him as the Bohemian Girls were joined, and then separated. . . . These are surprising Scenes, but I beg leave to affirm, that the solemn Operations of Nature are Subjects of Contemplation, but not of Ridicule"; *Annus Mirabilis: or, The Wonderful Effects of the approaching Conjunction of the Planets of Jupiter, Mars, and Saturn* (London, 1717), 1–4.

[38] Anon., *The Seventh Volume of Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy, who lived Five and Forty Years Undiscovered at Paris*, 8th ed. (London, 1723), 26.

[39] Anon., *Turkish Spy*, vol. vii, 28.

infant. In the introduction of the *Memoirs*, Scriblerus emerges as a parallel to Mahmut—the obscure Ottoman spy, who passes on his private letters to a collaborator and editor.

Giovanni Paolo Marana, a Genoese political exile, composed the initial volume of the *Turkish Spy* after he arrived in Paris in 1683. Marana claimed to have translated a parcel of 500 letters in Arabic, which he received from a mysterious Italian traveler a year earlier.[40] Aravamudan highlights a "vogue" for imitations of the *Turkish Spy* in



5. "Mahmut the Turkish Spy," Frontispiece, *Letters writ by a Turkish Spy* (London, 1694).

[40] Aravamudan explains, "Marana's initial Italian 30-letter original L'esploratore turco (1684) had become a French 102-letter multivolume L'espion turc in 1687. . . . By 1696–97 The Turkish Spy became an eight-volume, 632-letter L'espion dans le tour des princes chrétiens" (EO 41–42). Arthur Weitzman describes the Turkish Spy as a model for Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* and Oliver Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*. He credits Marana with the innovative use of personae in his Deist critique against bigotry and his favorable portrayal of Islam prior to the Ottoman siege of Vienna. See Marana, *Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy*, ed. Arthur J. Weitzman (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1970).

London. He characterizes its epistolary form as a provocative means of "*immethodical* falling upon philosophical, divine, and moral contemplations." (*EO* 41–42). Aravamudan describes the *Turkish Spy* as "a destabilizing web of found manuscripts, translation, and secret information from various elsewheres" (44). Alongside this pretense of "authorial fragmentation and the hybridity of multiple sources," the persona of the "spy is a vehicle for satire and ethnographic commentary, as well as a device to distance the author from the opinions of a naïve observer" (44–49). The subversive personae of Mahmut (the Turkish Spy) and Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān (the Self-Taught Philosopher) were grouped together in the polemical literature of early-eighteenth century Britain. For instance, Mahmut and Androgeo ben Jockdan engage in a provocative dialogue in the penultimate issue of the short-lived 1701 periodical, *Memoirs for the Curious: or, an Account of what Occurs that's Rare, Secret, Extraordinary, Prodigious or Miraculous, throughout the World; whether in Nature, Art, Learning, Policy or Religion*.[41] Daniel Defoe rewrote Mahmut as a crypto-Catholic revolutionary in his *Continuation of Letters Writ by the Turkish Spy* (1718). One year later, his *Life and Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719) featured a Protestant and rationalist reworking of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*.[42] Whereas Defoe

[41] Androgeo has "almost quite forgotten" his "Extraction in Arabia, so very strange." He shuns all artificial designations: "I have no Masters to serve. . . . For all I observe in this vast City are meer Slaves, though of different Kinds and Degrees, and Dignified and Distinguish'd after sundry manners, from those of lower Form." Mahmut, meanwhile, hopes "to see the Glory of my Sovereign Master, which was lately under some sort of Eclipse, at present likely to recover it self, and be more Aggrandiz'd than ever; and the Standard of our Prophet to be set up among the Western and Northern Infidels, with their Cross under our Victorious Crescent"; *Memoirs for the Curious* (London, 1701), 47–51.

[42] Scholars have long debated the nature of the relationship between Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān and Robinson Crusoe, yet many have noted major formal differences. See Majid Fakhry, *A History of Islamic Philosophy*, 3rd Ed. (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2004), 275; Fedwa Malti-Douglas, "Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān as Male Utopia," in *The World of Ibn Ṭufayl: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, ed. Lawrence Conrad (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), 53; and Robert Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing: Orientalists and their Enemies* (New York: Penguin, 2007), 119. For direct comparisons of Robinson Crusoe and Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān, see Samar Attar, *The Vital Roots of European Enlightenment: Ibn Ṭufayl's Influence on Modern Western Thought* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007), 19–37; Nawal Muhammad Hassan, *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān and Robinson Crusoe: A Study of an Early Arabic Impact on English Literature* (Baghdad: Al-Rashīd House for Publication 1980; Thomas Lamont, "Mutual Abuse: The Meeting of Robinson Crusoe

purged Orientalist literature of controversy and reworked its plots in realist narratives and Protestant allegories, Pope personified the otherworldly Scriblerian Orientalist prodigy.

In his personification of Scriblerus's *doppelganger* as not simply "Ebn-Hai," but as "Ebn-Hai Paw-Waw," Pope brought together a controversial Orientalist translation with an Occidentalist trope for enthusiastic opposition to Protestant rationalism. In his *Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe* (1721) and *Political History of the Devil* (1726), Defoe located the "Paw-Waw" at the Western fringe of British civilization, and depicted it as the embodiment of imposture and falsehood.[43] In seventeenth-century Puritan discourse, "Paw-Waw" denoted practices of ritual hypnosis, deceitful prophecy, and communication with spirits.[44] Eighteenth-century dissenters feminized the "Paw-Waw" as a witch who supplants the rational guidance of the Christian logos.[45] Defoe struggles with the Bible's justification in the first book of Samuel (28:3-25), where Saul invokes Samuel's ghost through the Witch of Endor. He considers that "the Scripture allows this Woman to *Paw waw*, as the *Indians* in *America* call it, and conjure for the raising of a

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and Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān," *Edebiyât* 13.2 (2003): 169–76; Michael Kochin, "Weeds: Cultivating the Imagination in Medieval Arabic Political Philosophy," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 60 (1999): 399–416; and Maximillian Novak, "Robinson Crusoe's Fear and the Search for the Natural Man," *Modern Philology* 58 (1961): 238–45.

[43] "There is a kind of Magic or Sorcery . . . encouraged by the Devil . . . a great Way off, and in Countries where the politer Instruments, which he finds here, are not to be had; namely, among the Indians of North America; This is called Pawwawing, and they have their Divines, which they call Pawaws or Witches"; Defoe, *The political history of the Devil, as well ancient as modern* (London, 1726), 386.

[44] The Massachusetts Bay Colony made pawwawing a crime punishable by death in 1646, defining it as any "damnable heresyes, tending to y^{e} subvercon of y^{e} X^{t}ian faith"; *Records of the governor and company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, vol. 3 (Boston: AMS Press, 1968), 98. John Carver details his participation in a "Pawwaw or Black Dance" to disabuse the "people of the colonies [who] tell a thousand ridiculous stories of the devil being raised in this dance by the Indians"; *Travels through the interior parts of North America in the years 1766, 1767, and 1768* (London, 1778), 256.

[45] Ludovick Muggleton depicts a witch who succeeds in making "you believe that spirits do come out of the dust, and whisper to the witch with a low voice, that none can hear but herself. . . . two spirits whisper so low together, that none can hear that stands by, nor tell what this spirit that is raised did say. . . . it was raised out of the witches own body, and no where else; and those low voices and whisperings were both within her and not without her"; A *True Interpretation of the Witch of Endor, Spoken of in The First Book of Samuel, xxviii. Chap. beginning at the 11th Verse,* 4th Ed. (London, 1831), 5–6.

Spectre," yet "the Soul of Man is capable to act strangely upon the Invisibles in Nature."[46] In the Double Mistress episode, Pope embraces this controversial "Paw-Waw" as a cipher for secretive and private transmission. According to Melinda Alliker Rabb, Pope "figures himself as a repository of dark incommunicable knowledge." In his persona as a secretive satirist, he imagines his body as being "Like a witch, whose Carcase lies motionless on the floor, while she keeps her airy Sabbaths, & enjoys a thousand Imaginary Entertainments abroad, in this world, & others, I seem to sleep in the midst of a Hurry, even as you would say a top stands still, when 'tis in the Whirle of its giddy motion" (*PC* i.163).[47] In his self-presentation as a secretive pseudonymous satirist, Pope couples a monstrous female identity with an implicit allusion to the Orientalist genre of the "thousand Imaginary Entertainments" and "giddy motion" of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*. As the next section shows, Pope's obscure Orientalist imitations are not confined to the prose of Scriblerus's *Memoirs*, for they actually influence his most famous poems.

ANIMALS, INDIANS, AND FOOLS: *ḤAYY IBN YAQẒĀN* AND *AN ESSAY ON MAN*

In his adaptations of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, Pope expresses controversial ideas concerning human nature and society. He cites Ibn Ṭufayl's protagonist as an antidote to the violence of anthropocentrism, but also uses the text as an ironic vehicle for representing the pervasiveness of irrational prejudice amongst fellow Britons who prided themselves on their polite toleration, moral objectivity, and belief in individual liberty.

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[46] Defoe, "A Vision of the Angelic World" in *Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe* (London, 1721), 5, 25–26.

[47] Melinda Alliker Rabb, *Satire and Secrecy: English Literature from 1650 to 1750* (New York: Palgrave, 2007), 173; Cf. Valerie Rumbold, *Women's Place in Pope's World* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989), 149.

Pope began adopting *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* in the midst of the Scriblerian collaboration, but also in the midst of a rivalry against the Whig authors of Joseph Addison's "Little Senate." These authors not only attempted to diminish Pope's poetry and reputation, but they also supported an ascendant Hanoverian regime that intensified witch-hunts against Catholics and Tories.[48] Pope's aesthetic sensibility also clashed with Addison's circle. Brian McCrea claims that the latter communicated to a "mass audience," whereas the Scriblerians staked out "a minority position" and wrote "wittily to a small audience that proved its taste in mastering complex ironies."[49] Addison, in particular, expressed a "total contempt for anonymous satire" and avoided "verbal ambiguity (puns, and wit), allegory, repetition, and *personae*" in his quest for clarity. While Addison's "Little Senate" criticized Pope's obscure learning, proscribed his unconventional foreign imitations, and ridiculed his superstitious and monstrous imagination, they also crafted conventions of an Oriental genre defined by its dependence on French pseudo-translations and its tactics of stigmatizing irrational others to convey rational Protestant moral anecdotes. Although this chapter will not delve into the minor details of this conflict between Pope's Scriblerian and Addison's "Buttonian" circle, I will briefly discuss one pseudonymous article Pope smuggled into Richard Steele's *Guardian* no. 61 (21 May 1713). The essay

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[48] Claudia Thomas notes "a curious Whig conspiracy to discredit [Pope]. . . . a campaign probably initiated by Addison himself. . . . When the Whigs accused Pope of subverting his country and jeopardizing liberty, they really objected to his attempting precisely what Steele and Addison had intended in their papers: introducing culture to a wider audience"; Thomas, *Alexander Pope and his eighteenth-century women readers* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994), 45–8. See also J.E. Congleton, "Theories of Pastoral Poetry in England, 1684–1717," *Studies in Philology* 41.4 (1944). For a sample of satires on Pope's Scriblerian obscurity, see Joseph Addison, *The Free-holder* (London, 1715–16), 432, 395; *The Spectator,* 8 vols. (London, 1797), vii.16–26, viii.88–88; Ambrose Philips, *The Free-Thinker,* 3 vols. (London, 1722), i.225, i.339; Richard Steele, *The Guardian,* 2 vols. (London, 1714), i.89–92.

[49] Brian McCrea explains that the Scriblerians "were the losers in the conflict—political, economic, religious, and literary—that took place in England from 1688 to 1721, that is, from the Glorious Revolution to the rise to power of Robert Walpole"; McCrea, *Addison and Steele are Dead: The English Department, Its Canon, and the Professionalization of Literary Criticism* (Newark: Univ. of Delaware Press, 1990), 26, 30, 33, 37.

compares Ḥayy's irrational yet benign ethics toward animals with the gothic customs and cruelties of Britain's national tradition. It is well known that Pope aimed to cultivate an Augustan aesthetic and a 'Catholic' universalism, which transcended local and particular biases.[50] By using Orientalist translations to satirize the rational pretenses of his rivals, however, Pope couples a dual critique on anthropocentrism and ethnocentrism. Unlike his better-known tactics of co-opting superior classical authority for the purpose of satire, his pseudonymous Scriblerian adoption of translations such as *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* corresponds with his identification with perspectives of the marginalized, stigmatized, and persecuted.

When Edith Sitwell reprinted his little-known pseudonymous essay "on the subject of the treatment of animals" in her 1930 biography, *Alexander Pope*, she emphasized Pope's concern for the voiceless: "The beastly cruelty from which these poor subjects of man could then find no redress, was almost universal in this age, though there were remarkable exceptions from this general cruelty." In reprinting this essay, Sitwell challenged prevalent notions regarding Pope's malignity: "He was a savage, we are told. Yet, at a time when cruelty to animals, of the most unspeakably horrid kind, was exhibited daily, and was held to be no disgrace, this savage wrote an essay, reproaching such cruelty in the most moving terms. It needed no small amount of moral courage to do this" (*S* 115–16, 14). More recently, critics have highlighted this essay's complex and provocatively interwoven allusions to Christian scripture, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and a

[50] Richard Braverman has demonstrated tensions toward neoclassicism's reminders of Britain's barbarous origins as a Roman colony and outpost, whereas Claude Rawson delineates how parodies of neoclassicism enabled a "low-level exposure" of such anxiety that leave intact "the integrity of the grander vision"; Richard Braverman, "'Dunce the Second Reigns like Dunce the First': Gothic Bequest in the *Dunciad*," *ELH* 62.4 (1995): 863–882, 878; Claude Rawson, *Satire and Sentiment: 1660–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994), 90–96. For analyses of Augustan rhetoric, see Howard Erskine-Hill, *The Augustan Idea in English Literature* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), 265; James William Johnson, "What was Neo-Classicism?" *Journal of British Studies* 9.1 (1969): 49–70; Cf. Donald Greene, "What Indeed was Neo-Classicism?," *Journal of British Studies* 10.1 (1970): 69–79, 79; J. Douglas Canfield, *The Baroque in Neoclassical Literature* (Newark: Univ. of Delaware Press, 2003), 140, 145; 150–52; Terry Castle, "Lab'ring Bards: Birth Topoi in English Poetics 1660–1820."

tale by the Indian fabulist, Bidpai (or "Pilpay").[51] While Tristram Stuart has questioned the extent of Pope's advocacy for animals, claiming he undercuts a self-consciously fanatical persona with "counter-vegetarian" humor, I contend that he crafts a network of obscure allusion and ironic imitation in the service of a negative ethical philosophy, which undermines aggressive and simplistic definitions of human rationality.[52] This philosophical polemic, I argue, is primarily geared toward cultural satire, for such anthropocentric and rationalist discourses abetted Whig campaigns against British Catholics, who 'irrationally' resisted conversion.[53] Pope's essay belongs to a collection of pseudonymous essays passed off onto the undiscerning editors of the *Guardian* periodical, who proved the limits of their rational comprehension and self-awareness by publishing his disguised satires on them. In his correspondence with Catholic allies in 1713, Pope praises their recognition of his tactics of obscure authorship.[54] When we

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[51] Aravamudan recounts the transmission of Bidpai from a cycle of beast fables derived from a third century Sanskrit original. He writes: "Joseph Jacobs, the text's Victorian editor, demonstrates that the work formally 'appealed to all the great religions of the world . . . originated in Buddhism, it was adopted by Brahmanism, passed on by Zoroastrianism to Islam, which transmitted it to Christendom by the mediation of Jews.' . . . Joseph Harris, who rendered these tales as the highly popular *Fables of Pilpay* by 1699, did so in a context that was already very receptive to fables in both prose and verse"; *Enlightenment Orientalism*, 130–33; Ben-Zaken, *Reading Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān: A Cross-Cultural History of Autodidacticism*, 4; Ballaster, *Fabulous Orients*, 343–59; Charles Morelly, *Basiliade: or, the book of truth and nature* (London, 1761), n.xviii.

[52] See Tristram Stuart: *The Bloodless Revolution: A Cultural History of Vegetarianism from 1600 to Modern Times* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2006), 215–27.

[53] Hugh Kenner writes, "An English Catholic in the 1680's was a sort of 1920's Georgia negro, with the difference that the latter could never renounce his negritude, while the Catholic lived with the cruel knowledge that by going through a rite of 'conversion' he could ease all pressures. He was made to feel he *chose* his persecution"; Kenner, *Historical Fictions* (Athens, GA: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1995), 251.

[54] Howard Erskine-Hill, "Twofold Vision in Eighteenth-Century Writing," *ELH* 64.4 (1997): 903–924. See Pope's essay on his "Companion of Obscurity" in *Spectator* no. 406 Ault, ed. *Prose Works*, 42–43. In his 19 November 1712 letter to John Caryll Sr., he defines obscurity ("To be uncensored and to be obscure, is the same thing"). His 12 June 1713 letter to Caryll states, "[I] would flatter myself that you know me, and my thoughts so entirely as never to be mistaken in either, so 'tis a pleasure to me that you guessed right in regard to the author of that *Guardian* you mentioned." In his letters to Caryll and William Trumbull on the "Enigmas of Pythagoras," Pope discusses his techniques of pseudonymous insinuation. Sherburn, ed., *Correspondence*, i.154, i.176, i.324. In his juvenile *Lines on Dulness*, Pope writes, "Thus Dulness, the safe Opiate of the Mind,/ The last kind Refuge weary Wit can find,/ Fit for all Stations and in each content/ Is satisfy'd, secure, and innocent." His panegyric "On Silence" portrays Dulness as a site of privacy, secrecy,

regard Pope's essay against anthropocentrism as a cultural critique of institutionalized prejudice, we not only glimpse his techniques of provocative authorship, but we also view the relation of ethics and satire that informs later poems such as his *Essay on Man*.

Pope's pseudonymous essay in *Guardian* no. 61 opens with remarks on the violent customs that inculcate a tolerance for barbarity in Britain's youth: "I am sorry this temper is become almost the distinguishing character of our nation, from the observation which is made by foreigners of our beloved past-times, bear-baiting, cock-fighting, and the like." By adopting the perspective of a foreign visitor, Pope circumvents conventional distinctions between the murder of humans and the slaughter of animals: "We should find it hard to vindicate the destroying of anything that has life, merely out of wantonness; yet in this principle our children are bred up, and one of the first pleasures we allow them is the license of inflicting pain upon poor animals." Ironically, the achievement of a rational society permits a cruel disregard for creatures without reason: "almost as soon as we are sensible what life is ourselves, we make it our sport to take it from other creatures."[55] In conjunction with this satire on British leisure and license, Pope's enthusiastic narrator conjures a fairy-tale image of British history: "I know of nothing more shocking, or horrid, than the prospect of one of [the Gothic barbarians'] kitchens strewed with blood, and filled with the cries of creatures expiring in torture." Pope's narrator filters national identity through the medium of romantic fictions: "It gives the image of a giant's den in a romance bestrawl'd with the scatter'd heads and mangled limbs of those who were slain

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and safety: "With thee in private modest *Dulness* lies,/ And in thy Bosom lurks in *Thought*'s Disguise." His first extant satire, *To the Author of a Poem, entitled Successio* depicts Dulness enabling authorial license: "Wit, past thro' thee, no longer is the same,/ As Meat digested takes a diff'rent Name;/ But Sense must sure thy safest Plunder be,/ Since no Reprizals can be made on thee"; Ault, ed., *Minor Works*, 53, 19, 16.

[55] Ault, ed. *Prose Works of Alexander Pope*, 107.

by his cruelty" (110).[56] In contrast to this hyperbolic portrayal of normative violence, Pope's narrator alludes to *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* as a precedent for improved ethical practices:

> I remember an *Arabian* Author, who has written a Treatise to show, how far a Man, supposed to have subsisted on a Desart Island, without any Instruction, or so much as the sight of any other Man, by the pure light of Nature, attain the Knowledge of Philosophy and Virtue. One of the first things he makes him observe is, the Universal Benevolence of Nature in the Protection and Preservation of its Creatures. In Imitation of which, the first Act of Virtue he thinks his Self-taught Philosopher would of Course fall into is, to Relieve and Assist all the Animals about him in their Wants and Distresses. (*NA* 112)

On one hand, Ḥayy's conception of "the pure light of Nature" and his attainment "of Philosophy and Virtue" render him an exemplary spokesperson for a rational society such as Britain. Thus, he might serve as a guide to polishing lingering corruptions of a gothic past. On the other hand, Ḥayy is neither a champion of Protestantism nor a proponent of rationality. Pope's reader must either rethink what it means to be a rational and virtuous agent, or deny the relevance of an "*Arabian* Author" to Britain's gothic national legacy.

In its provocative double application of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* as a proponent for a non-anthropocentric ethics and a satirist of ethnocentric bigotry, Pope's *Guardian* no. 61 foreshadows his later incorporation of Ibn Ṭufayl's text into *An Essay on Man*. John Butt points out Pope's controversial reading (if not contradiction) of the Book of Matthew (10:29–31) in this poem's leveling of distinctions between sparrows and men, and nearly every critic who has commented on *Guardian* no. 61 has also highlighted similarities to his lines in *Essay on Man*: "The lamb thy riot dooms to bleed to-day,/ Had he thy Reason, would he skip and play?/ Pleas'd to the last, he crops the flow'ry food,/ And licks the

[56] In his mock-georgic poem, *Rural Sports* (1715), John Gay dedicated his satire against cruelty to animals to "Mr. Pope" and his *Windsor Forest*. Like Pope, Gay's poem also develops the vices of hunting fish and fowl as an allegory for modern life amidst the corruption of British cities and courts. See *Rural Sports* (London, 1713), 1–2.

hand just rais'd to shed his blood" (i.81–84).[57] While critics of *Guardian* no. 61 have sought to demonstrate the limitations of Pope's animal rights argument, interpreters of *An Essay on Man* have been open to viewing his aesthetic modeling of ideas as more important than any attempt at objective philosophy.[58] Much like *Guardian* no. 61, Pope's *Essay on Man* uses *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* to miniaturize anthropocentrism and mock ethnocentrism. Pope transforms Ibn Ṭufayl's protagonist into the generalized character of the "Indian," but he also recalls Ḥayy's spinning in his satire on the "fool" who asserts a special access to the coveted category of reason (Pope alludes to mankind as "fool" or "fools" fifteen times in this poem). Although critics have attacked Pope's condescending stereotype of the "poor Indian," others, such as Geoffrey Tillotson and Joseph Roach, argue that Pope's image performs a dialectical critique of Christian hypocrisy and British colonial violence.[59] Likewise, the common presumptions of Pope's dogmatic and

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[57] *Windsor Forest* works human-animal relationships into a satire: In *Windsor Forest*, he reverses the distinction to satirize an aristocracy that perverts nature: "To Plains with well-breath'd Beagles we repair,/ And trace the Mazes of the circling Hare. (Beasts, urg'd by us, their Fellow Beasts pursue,/ And learn of Man each other to undo)" (i.121–24).

[58] Northrop Frye writes, "*Essay on Man* does not expound a system of metaphysical optimism founded on the chain of being: it uses such a system as a model on which to construct a series of hypothetical statements which are more or less useless as propositions, but inexhaustibly rich and suggestive when read in their proper context as epigrams. As epigrams, as solid, resonant, centripetal verbal structures, they may apply pointedly to millions of human situations which have nothing to do with metaphysical optimism"; Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1957), 85; See also Helen Vendler, *Poets Thinking: Pope, Whitman, Dickinson, Yeats* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2006), 10–11.

[59] Joseph Roach notes the "defamiliarizing impact of Pope's Citizen-of-the-World reversal," which alters "the direction of voyages of encounter" such that the Indian emerges as a foreign visitor critical of Britain's Empire. Roach contends that Pope's purported erasures of violence in this 'noble savage' trope (particularly his neglect of the slave trade) do not account for the kinetic and performative "palimpsest" of his "poetry of allusion"; Roach, *Cities of the Dead*, 142. Geoffrey Tillotson claims the sense of Pope's Indian in epistle one "is something like this: 'Man should pitch his hopes low especially as to his fortunes in the life to come. The Indian commendably pitches them low . . . he only asks a continuation of what he likes most in his present life. That preference includes the absence of white men, who enslave him and torment his friends . . . in their greed for wealth. (At the same time as he asks us to admire the humility of the Indian, Pope asks us to be aware of the contrast, that is, to be ashamed of ourselves.) . . . What a painful irony it is to Christians (unless they are truer to their alleged ideal) that an Indian who never heard of Christ should be so much nearer the real Christian in point of humility, that virtue which Christ so highly valued'"; *Pope and Human Nature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 257–58.

xenophobic conservatism make it difficult to interpret his satire on the spinning enthusiast.

It typically goes unnoticed that there are in fact two Indians and two circling philosophers in *Essay on Man*. The distinction between these opposing images hinges on Pope's contextualization of the simile. When he references the Indian in epistle four, for example, Pope invokes a negative stereotype, yet he applies this stereotype to rationalist fools who impose their individual prerogative under the auspices of religious certainty:

> Weak, foolish man! will Heaven reward us there
> With the same trash mad mortals wish for here? . . .
> Go, like the Indian, in another life
> Expect thy dog, thy bottle, and thy wife:
> As well as dream such trifles are assign'd,
> As toys and empires, for a god-like mind. (iv.173–80)

If Pope intends to mock the Indian, then he also contradicts his sympathetic animal philosophy and affirmative portrayal of the Indian in epistle one of the poem. Instead, I contend that he reframes "Weak, foolish man" in a comparison to the stereotypical figure of the other. In epistle one, Pope evokes the Indian to construct a polemical counterpoint:

> Lo! the poor Indian, whose untutor'd mind
> Sees God in clouds, and hears him in the wind;
> His soul proud Science never taught to stray
> Far as the solar walk, or milky way;
> Yet simple Nature to his hope has giv'n,
> Behind the cloud-topt hill, an humbler heav'n;
> Some safer world in depth of woods embrac'd,

Some happier island in the watry waste,

Where slaves once more their native land behold,

No fiends torment, no Christians thirst for gold! (i.99–108)

Whereas Tillotson has rightly shown this Indian of epistle one as a figure of anti-colonial resistance and a mirror for Christians whose worldly ambition and civilized refinement have corrupted their natural virtue, we might also suggest that Pope's Indian represents a generalized version of Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān. Far from a condescending portrait, Pope shows an affinity for the Indian's naturalist mysticism, unpretentious simplicity, "untutor'd mind," and "happier island." Furthermore, the Christian materialists that Pope satirizes in epistle four appear as the "fiends" who "thirst for gold," enslave foreign people, assert their pride (*scio*: "I know"), and disown the "humbler" sublimity of the Indian's heaven.

Pope's adaptation of Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān's circumrotation follows a similar pattern of formal irony. In the second epistle, Pope follows Ḥayy in interpreting humanity as a dualistic being suspended between a spiritual and animalistic existence: "Plac'd on this isthmus of a middle state/ A being darkly wise, and rudely great . . . He hangs between: in doubt to act, or rest,/ In doubt to deem himself a God, or Beast" (ii.3–8). Pope uncovers the ridiculous enthusiasm resulting from an overvaluation of humankind's rationality:

Go, wondrous creature! mount where Science guides

Go, measure earth, weigh air, and state the tides . . .

Go, soar with Plato to th'empyreal sphere,

To the first good, first perfect, first fair;

Or tread the mazy round his follow'rs trod,

And quitting sense call imitating God;

As Eastern priests in giddy circles run,

And turn their heads to imitate the Sun.

Go, teach eternal wisdom how to rule—

Then drop into thyself, and be a fool! (ii.19–30)

The above passage mocks the *amour propre* (or "ruling passion") of religious rationalists by punning on the ideal object of the "Sun"/"Son." Although Pope alludes to the scene in which Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān attempts to embody the cosmos and falls down, this does not mean that he attempts to mock Ibn Ṭufayl's tale. Whereas Ḥayy's collapse prompts his recognition of bodily limitations (and his vision of the double-mistress of spiritual and material worlds), the self-loving religious rationalist does not realize his own fall and thus he will remain a fool. Furthermore, if Pope's intent is to parody foreign religion, then he succumbs to his own negative category of the "hard inhabitant," who "thinks his neighbor farther gone than he" (ii.225–29). Instead, Pope's simile ("*As* Eastern priests") functions like his ironic injunction to the degraded materialist in epistle four ("Go, *like* the Indian").

In the concluding verses of *Essay on Man*, Pope revisits the image of the spinning philosopher, but in the context of a sublime representation of another form of self-love (*amour de soi*), which transcends any social and anthropological bias. This second image does not feature any discrete individual, but comprises a state of dual existence or togetherness, in which the mind participates in "th'immense design" of a horizontal "Chain of Love." As opposed to a vertical, hierarchical taxonomy of species, Pope represents collective being and belonging through a metaphor of horizontal expansion:

Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake,

As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake;

The centre mov'd, a circle strait succeeds,

Another still, and still another spreads.

Friend, parent, neighbor, first it will embrace,

His country next, and next all human race,

Wide and more wide, th'o'erflowings of the mind

Take ev'ry creature in, of ev'ry kind;

Earth smiles around, with boundless bounty blest,

And Heav'n beholds its image in his breast. (iv.363–72)

This awakening of compassion—an echo of the opening lines ("Awake, ST. JOHN") and of Ibn Ṭufayl's title "Alive, son of Awake"—symbolizes an apprehension of extended and multiple identity. Just as the narrator of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* offers "hints" for the protagonist's ineffable vision of his disembodied self in a pool of water (reflected as the shadow that intercepts the downward cascade of a Divine light), so Pope's image of circlets in a pond also depicts a mode of being that unites self and other in a coherent whole.[60] As Heaven sees itself sublimely mirrored in the breast of this pure self, *An Essay on Man* concludes with a mystical double-identity in opposition to "fools" who ignore the limitations of their individual reason. In contrast to the redemptive image of mystical dualism, Pope also reworked a burlesque drawn from book two of the *Dunciad Variorum*:

As what a Dutchman plumps into the lakes,

One circle first, and then a second makes;

What Dulness dropt among her sons imprest

Like motion from one circle to the rest;

So from the mid-most the nutation spreads

Round and more round, o'er all the sea of heads (ii.405–10)

[60] S.T. Coleridge imitates Pope in the preface to *Kubla Khan*, which depicts his transient poetic vision: "all the rest had passed away like the images on the surface of a stream into which a stone had been cast. . . . The all the charm/ Is broken—all the phantom world so fair/ Vanishes, and a thousand circlets spread, and each mis-shapes the other"; Coleridge, *The Complete Poems* (London: Penguin, 2004), 250.

As opposed to *An Essay on Man*'s exaltation of a Chain of Love that mirrors the self of the Divinity, the *Dunciad* burlesques the irrational sway of self-love and Dulness. In his reduced Twickenham edition, John Butt inexplicably omits Scriblerus's footnote to these lines in volume three of Pope's 1743 collected works. Although Pope's *Essay on Man* had reworked the above lines in the 1729 *Dunciad Variorum*, Scriblerus anachronistically depicts the 1743 four-book *Dunciad* as parodying *Essay on Man*: "It is a common and foolish mistake, that a ludicrous parody of a grave and celebrated passage is a ridicule of that passage. The reader, therefore, if he will, may call this a parody of the author's own Similitude in the Essay on Man. . . . As the small pebble &c. But will anybody therefore suspect the one to be a ridicule of the other?"[61] In these parallel representations, Pope proves the dual capacity to both burlesque elevated subjects and to redeem low ones.

By virtue of reading these parallel passages of sublimity and satire in *An Essay on Man*, we engage a mode Christopher Fanning terms the "Scriblerian Sublime." This mode reconciles "a leveling discourse" of satire with "an elevating one" of sublimity. Fanning explains: "it is in the orchestration of the juxtapositions to create effects that satire and the sublime converge. Both satire and the sublime function around an implied

[61] Pope's footnote continues, "A ridicule indeed there is in every parody; but when the image is transferred from one subject to another, and the subject is not a poem burlesqued, (which Scriblerus hopes the reader will distinguish from a burlesque poem) there the ridicule falls not on the thing *imitated*, but *imitating*." His footnote, furthermore, reworks the image of a heavenly mirror in *Essay on Man*: "Thus, for instance, when/ *Old Edward's armour beams on Cibber's breast*,/ it is, without doubt, an object ridiculous enough. But I think it falls neither on old king Edward, nor on his armour, but on his *armour-bearer* only; *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq. vol. 3* (London, 1743), n113. In *Pope Alexander's Supremacy and Infallibility examin'd* (1729), George Duckett, Thomas Burnet, and John Dennis isolate the "Scriblerick" as a "Divine [Secret] of Ingemination." The *OED* defines "Ingemination" as "the action of repeating or reiterating," but also as "the action of process of doubling (a thing, feeling, etc.)." The transmits "inestimable Secrets, wrapt in the dark *Womb* of Time, to be brought to Light only by the skilfull *Midwifery* of Scriblerus"; George Duckett, *Pope Alexander's Supremacy and Infallibility Examin'd; and the Errors of Scriblerus and his Man William Detected* (London, 1729), 21. See also Margaret Ann Doody, *The Daring Muse: Augustan Poetry Reconsidered* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1985), 234.

norm and its violation."[62] Pope first speculates on the relation of "an implied norm and its violation" in *An Essay on Criticism* (1709), where he asks readers to "mark *that Point* where Sense and Dulness *meet*" (i.51).[63] In *An Essay on Man*, he locates self-knowledge at a "point" where physical sense and abstract reason coincide, and he proposes an ethical imperative to "Draw to one point, and to one centre bring,/ Beast, Man, or Angel, Servant, Lord, or King" (iv.301–2). Since he cannot isolate Man from the physical world, Pope imagines a Chain in which "Nothing is foreign: Parts relate to whole;/ One all-extending, all-preserving Soul/ Connects each being, greatest with the least;/ Made Beast in aid of Man, and Man of Beast;/ All serv'd, all serving! nothing stands alone;/ The chain holds on, and where it ends, unknown" (iii.21–26) In a 1734 letter to Swift, Pope declared his intention to devote himself to an ethical inquiry into this metaphysical chain:

> I am almost at the end of my Morals, as I've been, long ago, of my Wit; my system is a short one, and my circle narrow. Imagination has no limits, and that is a sphere in which you may move on to eternity; but where one is confined to Truth (or to speak more like a human creature, to the appearances of Truth) we soon find the shortness of our Tether. Indeed by the help of a metaphysical chain of ideas, one may extend the circulation, go round and round for ever, without making any progress beyond the point to which Providence has pinn'd us: But that does not satisfy me, who would rather say a little to no purpose, than a great deal. (*PC* iii.445)

On 16 February 1733, Pope communicated to Swift his desire to weave together a series of consecutive poems: "I have declined opening to you by letters the whole scheme of my present Work . . . but you will see pretty soon, that the letter to Lord Bathurst is part of it

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[62] Fanning, "The Scriblerian Sublime," *SEL* 45.3 (2005): 647–67, 648, 652–55. Jonathan Lamb identifies Warburton's coinage of the comic sublime in his annotations of *An Essay on Man*. He explains the parallel of Newton and Ape as "a new species of the Sublime, of which our poet may justly be said to be the maker." Warburton claims, "in this compounded excellence the Wit receives a dignity from the Sublime, and the Sublime a splendour from the Wit; which, in their states of separate existence, they both wanted"; Lamb, "The Comic Sublime and Sterne's Fiction," *ELH* 48.1 (1981): 110–143, 128–29.

[63] See Philip Smallwood, *Reconstructing Criticism: Pope's Essay on Criticism and the Logic of Definition* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell Univ. Press, 2003).

and you will find a plain connection between them, if you read them in the order just contrary to that they were published in" (*PC* iii.348).[64] As I argue in the next section, Pope's reference to a "letter to Lord Bathurst" likely pertains to a 1719 reflection on *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* that he would publish in his 1737 letters and incorporate into the four-book *Dunciad* (1742/43). George Sherburn interprets the scheme Pope articulated to Swift as an allusion to his Epistles to Burlington, Bathurst, Martha Blount, and Arbuthnot, I contend that he may also be referring to a connection between the capstone Epistle to Bolingbroke (*An Essay on Man*) and its sequel (what he referred to as his "Epistle on Education") in the fourth book of the *Dunciad*.[65] William Wimsatt explicitly identifies this connection in the introduction to his 1951 *Alexander Pope: Selected Poetry and Prose*. He depicts the *Dunciad* as "a treatise on knowledge (a comic expression of what might have been the second part of Pope's master philosophical development out of the *Essay on Man*)."[66] If we approach Pope's interwoven thematic consistency from the standpoint of his Orientalist imitation, while also taking seriously Scriblerus's critical guidance in his notes and essays on the *Dunciad*, we will gain a new clarity in our understanding of Pope's aesthetics and ethics. In the section below, I show how *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* influenced Pope's conception of Dulness in the *Dunciad*. In light of this influence, I argue that the most striking feature of that poem—its topical satire on dunces—is negligible when compared with its plan of didactic and philosophical satire.

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[64] Henry Brooke, the censored Anglo-Irish playwright, wrote an unsolicited letter to him after the suppression of *Gustavus Vasa: the Deliverer of his Country* (1739). He inquired as to Pope's strategy: "there is one great and consistent genius evident through the whole of your works, but that genius seems smaller by being divided, by being looked upon only in parts, and that deception makes greatly against you; you are truly but one man through many volumes, and yet the eye can attend you but in one single view; each distinct performance is as the performance of a separate author, and no one large enough to contain you in your full dimensions, though perfectly drawn, you appear too much in miniature"; Charles Henry Wilson, ed., *Brookiana* (London, 1804), ii.9–16.

[65] Joseph Spence, *Anecdotes, Observations, and Characters of Books and Men*, 289.

[66] William Wimsatt, *Alexander Pope: Selected Poetry and Prose* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1951), l.

Despite the lack of contemporary critical commentary on Pope's Orientalist style, his printed and extant letters provide sufficient support for an inquiry into the extent of his experimentation in this mode. In September of 1720, Francis Atterbury complained of Pope sending him "Arabian tales . . . writ with so Romantick an air" and of "so wild and absurd a contrivance" that they remind him of "the odd paintings on Indian screens: which at first glance may surprise a little: but when you fix your eye upon them they appear so extravagant, disproportion'd, and monstrous, that they give a judicious seer pain" (*PC* ii.56).[67] As Pope retreated into the privacy of gardens after 1719, he cultivated a polemical and subversive philosophy based on Orientalist learning.[68] In his *Epistolary Essays* (published at Pope's request), Bolingbroke conveys the garden philosophy that he and Pope shared in their private conversations. He portrays the voice of nature expressing an Oriental Deism: "She will speak to them [the philosophers] in the language of the Soufys, a sect of philosophers in Persia, that travelers have mentioned: 'Doubt,' say these wise and honest freethinkers, 'is the key of knowledge." Pope's garden philosophy is central to *Essay on Man*—a poem that opens with a famous invocation to Bolingbroke:

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[67] In a 23 September 1720 letter, Pope asserts, "Your Lordship may criticize from Virgil to these Tales; as Solomon wrote of every thing from the cedar to the hyssop. I have some cause . . . to look upon you as a Prophet in that retreat, from whom oracles are to be had, were mankind wise enough to go thither to consult you" (*PC* ii.53). Critics have disagreed as to whether Pope sent Atterbury Philips's translation of Petis de la Croix's *Persian Tales* or Antoine Galland's *Arabian Nights*. Atterbury admits to Pope that the tales "may furnish the mind with some new Images," yet he cannot imagine that Pope has "any keen relish of them," insofar as they contradict the orthodoxy of his classical poetry.

[68] According to Bolingbroke, he only extended this garden philosophy to those who "had (like the *Indian* Fohu, the *Grecian* Pythagoras, the *Persian* Zoroaster, and others of his Precursors among the Arabians, Magians, and the Egyptian Seres)" both an outward and his inward Doctrine, "but who were. . . of no side at the bottom" ; Henry St. John, *Letters or Essays Addressed to Alexander Pope, Esq*. in *Works of the late right honourable Henry St. John, lord Bolingbroke, vol 5* (London, 1809), 72. Charles Mordaunt, the Earl of Peterborough, assured him that the "two Paradises" of gardening and physical pleasure are "not ill connected." Peterborough alludes to Bolingbroke's notion that these "Pluralities" or "Mahometan indulgences" of "the great Turk" cannot "both be had, even in this life, without turning Musselmen" (*PC* iii.307–17).

Awake, my ST. JOHN! leave all meaner things

To low ambition, and the pride of Kings. . . .

Expatiate free o'er all this scene of MAN;

A mighty maze! but not without a plan;[69]

A wild, where weeds and flow'rs promiscuous shoot;

Or Garden, tempting with forbidden fruit.

Together let us beat this ample field,

Try what the open, what the covert yield!

The latent tracts, the giddy heights, explore

Of all who blindly creep, or sightless soar (i.1–2, 6–12).

Just as Atterbury complained of Pope's "Arabian tales" as "Indian screens" that furnish striking views upon closer inspection, we read the painful version of these pleasant lines in the fourth book of the *Dunciad*: "The mind, in Metaphysics at a loss,/ May wander in a wilderness of Moss;/ The head that turns at super-lunar things,/ Poiz'd with a tail, may steer on Wilkins' wings" (iv.446–52). The garden philosophy that Pope features in both the *Dunciad* and *An Essay on Man* derives in part from his reading of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*.

Critics have not yet acknowledged the relative prominence and frequency of Pope's allusions to *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*. In the intervening years between *An Essay on Man* and the revised *Dunciad*, Pope published one significant commentary on *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* as a philosophical and satirical precedent. In his 18 September 1719 letter to Lord Allen Bathurst, Pope associated *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* with an image of irrational enthusiasm

[69] In the 1733 edition, this line reads "A mighty maze of walks without a plan."

exemplified by the subjective experience of landscape gardens.[70] Pope's letter to Bathurst opens with a humorous speculation on Bathurst's project of designing his vast garden:

> I believe you are by this time immers'd in your vast Wood; and one may address you as to a very abstracted person, like Alexander Selkirk, or the Self-taught Philosopher ['The Title of an Arabic Treatise of the Life of Hai Ebn Yocktan']. I should be very curious to know what sort of contemplations employ you? I remember the latter of those I mention'd, gave himself to a devout exercise of making his head giddy with various circumrotations, to imitate the motions of the celestial bodies. I don't think it at all impossible that Mr. L. may be far advanced in that exercise, by frequent turns toward the several aspects of the heavens, to which you may have been pleased to direct him in search of prospects and new avenues. He will be tractable in time as birds are tam'd by being whirl'd about; and doubtless come not to despise the meanest shrubs or coppice-wood. (*PC* ii.13)

After foregrounding *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* to portray the irrational enthusiasm of an embodied subject immersed in a landscape garden,[71] Pope extends this metaphor to incorporate his own conversations with Bathurst on the principles of an ideal aesthetics: "for generally after the debate of a whole day, we acquiesc'd at night in the best conclusion of which human reason seems capable in all great matters, to fall fast asleep! And so we ended, unless immediate Revelation (which ever must overcome human reason) suggested some

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[70] In 1714 and 1718, Bathurst hosted Scriblerus club members at his Riskins and Circenchester estates. As a Tory peer, his support proved integral to Pope's publication and defense of the *Dunciad Variorum*. Mack asserts that, "of all his noble friends, it was with Bathurst with whom Pope felt most completely at his ease, and with whom he seems to have collaborated most fully in landscaping projects of all kinds"; *Alexander Pope: A Life*, 380. See also Martin, *Pursuing Innocent Pleasures: The Gardening World of Alexander Pope* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1984), 66. In a 21 December 1775 letter to William Mason, Horace Walpole lamented that Bathurst's son "Burnt all his father's correspondence with Pope, Swift, Arbuthnot, &c.—why do you think? because several of the letters were indiscreet"; Paget Toynbee, ed. *The Letters of Horace Walpole, vol. VIII* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904), 308; Vinton Dearing, "The 1737 editions of Alexander Pope's Letters" in *Essays critical and historical dedicated to Lily B. Campbell*, ed. L.B. White (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1950), 185–97.

[71] According to George Sherburn, "Mr. L." is probably Pope and Bathurst's mutual friend, Erasmus Lewis. It may also have been "Bathurst's clerical friend Henry Layng, who later translated a passage in the Odyssey for Pope" (ii.13). See also Austin Warren, "Henry Layng, Assistant in Pope's Odyssey," *The Review of English Studies* 8.29 (1932): 77–82. Also see Layng's remarks on Bathurst's interest in obscure literature in the Dedication to his translation of Giovanni Battista Gelli's *Circe* (London, 1744).

new lights to us, by a Vision in Bed" (*PC* ii.14).[72] Pope warns Bathurst that a visionary theory based on subjective experience is distinct from the pains and labor of maintaining the forms of a garden plot: "But laying aside Theory, I am told you are going directly to Practice. Alas, what a Fall will that be? A new Building is like a new Church, when once it is set up, you must maintain it in all the forms, and with all the inconveniences, and there's an end of miracles at once!" (*PC* ii.14). Pope ironically reverses this warning in the fourth book of his *Dunciad*, when the Goddess Dulness urges her dunces to translate their private madness into public practice: "Then blessing all, 'Go Children of my care!/ To Practice now from Theory repair./ All my commands are easy, short and full:/ My Sons! be proud, be selfish, and be dull" (iv.579–82). This blessing introduces the final ascent of the dunces and collapse of moral and aesthetic norms. Pope's conclusion of the *Dunciad* recalls the "Eastern priests" who run "in giddy circles" in epistle two of *Essay on Man*: "*Physic* of *Metaphysic* begs defence,/ And *Metaphysic* calls for aid on *Sense!*/ See *Mystery* to *Mathematics* fly!/ In vain! they gaze, turn giddy, rave, and die" (iv.645–48). As opposed to the pleasant and transformative enthusiasm possible in the context of Bathurst's private garden, the apocalypse of the *Dunciad* entails disastrous consequences.

Pope's 1719 letter to Bathurst employs a scenario drawn from *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* and anticipates the philosophical satire in *Essay on Man* and the *Dunciad*. In the second half of his letter to Bathurst, Pope contrasts Ḥayy's private enthusiasm with a fable on a public landscaping contest. The fable highlights the impossibility of ascertaining an ideal form of landscape garden. He uses this conflict in taste as a platform to mock impositions of subjective bias (in politics, religion, and criticism) under false pretenses of individual

[72] Pope alludes to the "Dream of Scipio" in Samuel Parker's 1704 translation, *Tully's two essays on Old Age, and of friendship; with his Stoical Paradoxes and Scipio's Dream*.

rationality.[73] Pope portrays the intractable dilemma of identifying an aesthetic and moral hierarchy in Nature, but he also tentatively responds to this difficulty by referring to his collaboration with a nameless gardener with "so bad a Taste, as to like all that is good." When Edmund Curll printed his letter to Bathurst in 1735,[74] he read Pope's allusion as a scandalous personal reference, and did not consider that the tasteless but virtuous planter is the fictitious collaborator, Martinus Scriblerus. In 1737, Pope removed Curll's topical footnote, but he did not divulge the name of any specific partner in landscape gardening. Were it not for a lingering contract with Benjamin Motte (publisher of Pope and Swift's *Miscellanies*), the 1737 *Letters* would have been released within a year of *The Tracts of Martinus Scriblerus and other Miscellaneous Pieces*.[75] The two volumes would have

[73] Commentators on Pope's landscape design have described it as a locus for his self-image, Horatian detachment, innovate experiments with "Oriental" styles, nascent romanticism, domestication of Augustan classicism, combinations of aesthetic modes, use of pictorial aesthetics, manipulation of Lockean models of perception, and general emphasis on "the contrasts, the management of surprises, and the concealment of bounds"; Martin, *Pursuing Innocent Pleasures*, 2; Maynard Mack, *The Garden and the City: Retirement and Politics in the Later Poetry of Pope, 1731–1743* (Toronto, ON: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1969); Deutsch, *Resemblance and Disgrace*, 83–136; Yu Liu, "In the Name of the Ancients: The Cross-Cultural Iconoclasm of Pope's Gardening Aesthetics," *Studies in Philology* (105.3 (2008): 409–28; Frederick Bracher, "Pope's Grotto: The Maze of Fancy," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 12.2 (1949): 141–62; Barbara Lauren, "Pope's Epistle to Bolingbroke: Satire from the Vantage of Retirement," *SEL* 15.3 (1975): 419–430; A.O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A study of the History of an Idea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1964); Morris Brownell, Ale*xander Pope and the Arts of Georgian England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978); John Dixon Hunt, *The Figure in the Landscape: Poetry, Painting, and Gardening during the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1976); Carretta, *The Snarling Muse: Verbal and Visual Political Satire from Pope to Churchill* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), 94–101.

[74] When Curll printed this letter in 1735, he footnoted Pope's collaborator as James Brydges, the first Duke of Chandos, hoping to re-ignite the "Timon" scandal of *Epistle to Burlington*. Curll proposed an unflattering topical reading of a Scriblerian Orientalist thought experiment, either willfully or inadvertently. Curll's unfriendly interpretation foreshadows Pope's antagonists' overemphasis on the topicality of the Dunciad. Angry that Curll obtained and published his juvenile letters to Henry Cromwell, he contrived the scheme of mailing a selected letters under the pseudonym, "P.T." [Pope Twickenham].

[75] On May 15 1737 Pope wrote to Ralph Allen that readers of his projected Tracts "may see me, as an Author, as I hope you will do as a Man, in All Lights & Shapes" (*PC* iv.68). Aaron Hill threatened Pope in a 28 January 1730 letter: "I have, now, almost finished, An Essay on the Propriety, and Impropriety, in Design, Thought, and Expression, illustrated, by Examples, in both Kinds, from the Writings of Mr. Pope; and, to convince you how much more Pleasure it gives me, to distinguish your Lights, than your Shades" (*PC* iii.168). Hill altered the title to *The Progress of Wit: A Caveat, for the Use of an Eminent Writer* (1730).

contained three clear allusions to *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*: in the Double Mistress of Scriblerus's *Memoirs*, in Pope's essay in *Guardian* no. 61, and in his letter to Bathurst on landscaping aesthetics. These two volumes would have further focalized the coherent Orientalist influence unifying *An Essay on Man* with "Epistle on Education" in Pope's *Dunciad*.[76]

Pope's imitations of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* serve as a vehicle for the minor tenor of philosophical satire in *Essay on Man* and the *Dunciad*. Although critics overwhelmingly distinguish Pope's philosophical and satirical poetry, they neglect his experimental forms and aesthetics of deformity.[77] At the outset of the *Dunciad*, Scriblerus urges readers to resist taking the dunces "contractedly for mere Stupidity," but to regard them as "a ruling principle not inert, but turning topsy-turvy the Understanding and inducing an Anarchy or confused State of Mind" (i.15).[78] Scriblerus privileges philosophical stakes over topical

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[76] Pope's "Muse now stoops, or now ascends" in *Essay on Man*, showing human nature "Created half to rise and half to fall" (iv.375; ii.15). The Goddess Dulness also embodies rising and falling: "With self-applause her wild creation views;/ Sees momentary monsters rise and fall/ And with her own fools-colours gilds them all" (i.82–84). *Rape of the Lock*, Pope offers another version of this metaphor for self-love and enthusiasm: "Oft when the world imagine Women stray/ The *Sylphs* thro' mystick Mazes guide their Way,/ Through all the giddy Circle they pursue/ And old Impertinence expel by new" (i.91–94).

[77] Hugh Kenner claims, "Pope used the . . . [dunces] as a huge commonplace book on which his own creative enterprise could draw, building crazy edifices of congruous and incongruous simile, climax and anticlimax, low and heroic diction, which wobble majestically on their pivots without ever falling off. . . . If Dryden found English brick and left it marble, he still thought of the poem as a building, reared in great blocks. What came to Pope as marble, however, he left as a system of tensions, limber, open, bending to the wind, like some Eiffel Tower of the imagination"; *The Counterfeiters*, 56–60.

[78] Although John Butt demands that "Pope *is*, in fact, sneering" at the financial misfortunes and literary subservience of the dunces, Scriblerus warns us against such ungenerous literalism: "So at first sight it may seem; but be not deceived, Reader! these also are not real persons." They are instead ciphers, carrying "Forgery in the very name" (ii.n118). "Hereby is initimated that the following Vision is no more than the Chimera of the Dreamer's brain, and not a real or intended satire on the Present Age, doubtless more learned, more inlighten'd, and more abounding with great Genius's in Divinity, Politics, and whatever Arts and Sciences, than all the preceding. . . . SCRIBLERUS" (iii.n5–6). See also the apology for the obscurity of satirical targets in the "Letter to the Publisher" of the *Dunciad*, as well as "Ricardus Aristarchus of the Hero of the Poem," which explains that the "*Phantom of a Hero*" constitutes an apt "tenant" for the "tenement" of the fable. If we believe Scriblerus, the dunces are "All phantoms!" Pope tried to maintain "the Memory of that Learned Phantome which is to be Immortal. . . . I hope the Revolutions of State will not affect Learning so much as to deprive mankind of the Lucubrations of Martin" (*PC* i.250). On 18 June 1714, Pope wrote to Swift of his singular aim to complete "the life and adventures of Scriblerus. . . . This indeed must be granted of greater importance than all the rest; and I wish I could promise so well of you. The top of my ambition is to contribute to that great work, and I shall translate Homer by the by" (*PC* i.230–32).

satire, stating that critics are "apt to mistake the Importance of many of the Characters, as well as the Design of the Poet" if they imagine the poet "employs himself, like Domitian, in killing flies; whereas those who have the true key will find he sports with nobler quarry; and embraces a larger compass" (i.n15).[79] While Pope doles out torrents of abuse against contemporary dunces, he also used Scriblerus's footnotes to re-align the dunces' stigmatization of his own physical, cultural, and religious identity.[80] Pope transitions from topical satire on the denizens of Grub Street to a conceptual topography of the Empire of Dulness. In the three-book *Dunciad Variorum* (1729), Pope concludes by depicting the westward progression of an Empire of Dulness from ancient China to

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[79] Blakey Vermeule highlights a paradoxical dualism between tenor and vehicle in the four-book *Dunciad*, citing a "complicated dialectic of inside and outside, materiality and immateriality. . . . Now that particulars have lost their status as signs of the real, even the most public names are reduced to objects of private obsession." Alvin Kernan and Dennis Todd remark on Pope's coupling of a debilitating darkness that expands into every facet of culture with a contractive irony that narrows into channels of obscure specialization before dispersing into an insubstantial mist. See Vermeule, "Abstraction, reference, and the dualism of Pope's 'Dunciad'," *Modern Philology* 96.1 (1998): 16–41, 36, 40; Todd, *Imagining Monsters: miscreations of the self in eighteenth-century England*, 127–35; Alvin Kernan, *The Plot of Satire* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1965); See also Dustin Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England, 1650–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996), 123–55.

[80] Pope embraced and reworked the shameful label given to him by John Dennis, and he cites it in the footnotes of the *Dunciad*: "'Let us take the initial and final letters of his Surname, *viz. A. P—E*, and they give you the idea of an *Ape*" (i.n61). Scriblerus depicts Dulness's ascent through an adage: "The higher you climb, the more you shew you're A——. . . . Emblematized also by an Ape climbing and exposing his posteriors" (n.iv.18). Pope pursues a politer irony in *An Essay on Man*: "Superior beings, when of late they saw/ A mortal man unfold all Nature's law,/ Admir'd such wisdom in an earthly shape,/ And shew'd a NEWTON as we shew an Ape" (ii.30–34). In *An Essay of the Learned Martinus Scriblerus, concerning the Origin of Sciences, written to the most learned Dr. ———, F.R.S. from the Deserts of Nubia* (1732), Pope and Arbuthnot depict Scriblerus's discovery of an empire of Pygmaean satyrs. They urge British readers "not only to invite [these] learned men into their country, but [also the] learned beasts, the true ancient man-tegers, I mean, of AEthiopia and India[.] Might not the talents of these be adapted to the improvement of several sciences? The man-tegers to instruct heroes, statesmen and scholars?"; *Miscellanies, 3rd. Vol.* (London, 1732), 99–100. In *The True Character of Mr. Pope and his Writings* (London, 1716), Dennis writes, "'But the deformity of this Author <*viz.* Pope> is visible, present, lasting, unalterable, and peculiar to himself: it is the mark of God and Nature upon him, to give us warning that we should hold no society with him, as a creature not of our original, nor of our species. . . . 'Tis certain his original is not from Adam, but from the Devil'" (ii.n142). At the conclusion of book two, the footnotes display Dennis critiquing the differences between proper and improper theatrical entertainments by using the parallel comparison of "two *religious books*, the *Bible* and the *Alcoran*" (ii.n381). Cf. Wyndham Lewis, *The Apes of God* (New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1930), 491; Lewis, *Satire and Fiction* (London: Arthur Press, 1931), 29.

modern Britain. In the four-book *Dunciad* (1742/43), he concludes by depicting a collapse of Dulness that is reminiscent of his previous imitations of Ibn Ṭufayl's spinning philosopher. Although Pope does not cite *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, his *Dunciad* seem to invoke the previous imitations of his letter to Bathurst, *Guardian* no. 61, *An Essay on Man*, and Scriblerus's *Memoirs*.

In book three of the *Dunciad*, Elkanah Settle's ghost visits Pope's anti-hero and grants him a vision of the Empire of Dulness.[81] This vision parodies Moses's Pisgah sight of the Promised Land in Deuteronomy 34:1–4 and the Qur'an 5:22–26. Settle commands Pope's anti-hero to "Ascend this hill, whose cloudy point commands/ Her boundless empire over seas and lands./ See round the Poles where keener spangles shine. . . . And all the nations cover'd in her shade!" (iii.59–64). Settle summarizes Dulness's emergence over four hemispheres, where beneficial learning is destroyed and replaced by artificial impositions of despots and demagogues. He first shows the anti-hero the eradication of pastoral learning in China, as invasions from the north necessitate the building of a wall and the consolidation of national identity: "Far eastward cast thine eye, from whence the Sun/ And orient Science at a birth begun./ One man immortal all that pride confounds,/ He, whose long Wall the wand'ring Tartar bounds" (iii.65–68).[82] Pope's footnotes identify the original anti-hero of Dulness as "*Chi Ho-am-ti*, Emperor of *China*, the same who built the great wall between *China* and *Tartary*, [and] destroyed all the books and

[81] Settle—Dryden's anti-hero in *Mac Flecknoe*—either visits the pedantic Shakespearean scholar, Lewis Theobald (in 1729 version), or the comic actor, stage manafer, and Poet Laureate, Colley Cibber (in the four-book version of 1743). There is perhaps no simpler argument against the topical specificity of Pope's poem than in this alteration of its hero.

[82] On the philosophy Pope associated with Chinese gardens, see William Temple's famous essays "Upon the Gardens of Epicurus" and "Upon Ancient and Modern Learning" in Temple, *Miscellanea: The Second Part*, 4th Edition (London, 1696), 98, 93.

learned men of that empire" (iii.n76).[83] Settle's Pisgah vision then turns to a new rival in the Southern hemisphere. Pope's footnotes clarify that "*Caliph Omar* I. having conquered *AEgypt*, caus'd the General to burn the *Ptolomaean* library, on the gates of which was this inscription, *Medicina Animae*, *The Physick of the Soul*" (iii.n81–82).[84] Settle then displays the destruction of learning in the Northern and Western hemispheres. First, the "bold Ostrogoths" and "fierce Visigoths" descend upon Rome's Empire. Second, the new imposition of a strict monotheism repairs the chaos generated by barbarian invasions:

> See, where the Morning gilds the palmy shore,
>
> (The soil that arts and infant letters bore)
>
> His conqu'ring tribes th'Arabian prophet draws,
>
> And saving Ignorance enthrones by Laws.
>
> See Christians, Jews, one heavy Sabbath keep;
>
> And all the Western World believe and sleep. (iii.93–100)

In his footnotes, Pope reiterates "that all Sciences came from the Eastern Nations" (iii.n65). He specifies "*The Soil that arts and infant letters bore*" as "*Phoenicia, Syria,* &c., where *Letters* are said to have been invented. In these Countries *Mahomet* began his Conquests" (iii.n96). Pope implies that Christian Patriarchs imitate Mahomet's tactics of censorship: "Lo Rome herself, proud mistress now no more,/ Of arts, but thund'ring against Heathen lore;/ Her gray-hair'd Synods damning books unread" (iii.101–3). In his

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[83] For scholarship on the reputation of Qin Shi Huang (259–210 B.C.E), see Robert M. Philmus, *Visions and re-visions: (re)constructing science fiction* (Liverpool: Liverpool Univ. Press, 2005), n.353. Also, see Jorge Luis Borges's Scriblerian essay on ""He whose long wall the wand'ring Tartar bounds . . . *Dunciad, II, 76*"; Donald A. Yates and James E. Irby, eds., *Labyrinths: Selected Stories and Other Writings of Jorge Luis Borges* (New York: New Directions, 1962), 186. Borges cites the wrong book of the 1743 poem.

[84] For a comparison of the burning libraries in books one and three of the *Dunciad*, see Harold Weber, "The 'Garbage Heap' of Memory: At Play in Pope's Archives of Dulness," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33.1 (1999): 1–19. On Pope's recapitulation of Dulness, see Brean S. Hammond, *Professional Imaginative Writing in England, 1670–1740: "Hackney for Bread"* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

"Essay on Homer," Pope defines this "Heathen lore" as an archive of philosophical satire that was censored by those critics who used the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to justify imperialist wars and marvelous fictions of individual heroism.[85] In particular, Rome's synods damn Homer's *Margites*—a lost burlesque Scriblerus cites as the precedent for the *Dunciad*.[86]

Pope seems to imply that Homer's *Margites* reflects the ethical principles of a suppressed "orient science," Pope also imagines that this archive has been censored and appropriated: "Till Peter's Keys some christen'd Jove adorn,/ And Pan to Moses lends his Pagan horn" (iii.109–10). Pope provocatively alludes to unsettling continuities between Christian and "Heathen lore," while, at the same time, he also implies that advocates of censorship mirror the destructive influence of invading Goths and wandering Tartars:

> '*Till* Peter's *Keys*, &c.] After the Government of *Rome* devolved to the Popes, their zeal was for some time exerted in demolishing the Heathen Temples and Statues, so that the *Goths* scarce destroyed more Monuments of Antiquity out of

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[85] Pope highlights Homer's foreign travels: "if others believ'd he was an *Aegyptian*, from his Knowledge of their Rites and Traditions which were reveal'd but to few; and of Arts and Customs which were practis'd among them in general; it may prove at least this much, that he was there in his Travels. . . . [Homer] takes the Globe for the Scene in which he introduces his Subjects; he launches forward intrepidly, like one to whom no place is new, and appears a Citizen of the World in general"; *An Essay on the Life, Writings, and Learning of Homer* (London, 1718), iii. Pope's antagonists allude to an "*Aegyptian* Darkness" and "ANTI-DESIGN" uniting Scriblerian and Homeric precedents. See Dennis, *Remarks upon several passages in the preliminaries to the Dunciad* (London, 1729), 24, 7; Mary Cooper, *Verses Occasion'd by Mr. Warburton's Late Edition of Mr. Pope's Work* (London, 1751), 18, v; William Dodd, *A New Book of the Dunciad: occasion'd by Mr. Warburton's new edition of the Dunciad complete* (London, 1750). Chevalier Andrew Michael Ramsay, adopted Pope's theme of Egyptian wisdom in the *Travels of Cyrus* (1727). Voltaire's *Dictionnaire Philosophique* identified Ramsay's conflation of Hermes Trismegistus and *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, as his example of "Plagiat"; *Oeuvres completes de Voltaire, vol. XXXII, part I* (Paris, 1819), 292–93.

[86] Pope depicts the transmission and transformation of Homer's archive over four geographical and historical terrains: Greece, Egypt, India, and Christian Europe. Homer's archive is first submitted to belligerent interpretations of the Spartans and Macedonians, who either fail to grasp Homer's satire or read expurgated versions of his archive that only include the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. An unexpurgated edition, read only by Alexander the Great and his inner circle, travels eastward with his conquering armies. This enigmatic "*Edition of the Casket*" propounds a recessive Homeric philosophy, which later "rose to be a *Magazine of Sciences* [in India]; they were exalted into a *Scheme of Religion* . . . were quoted in all Cases from the *Conduct of Life*, and learned by heart as the very Book of Belief and Practice"; "An Essay on the Life, Writings, and Learning of Homer," *The Iliad of Homer, vol. 1*, 2nd Ed. (London, 1721), 43–45. Homer's archive also spreads to the library at Alexandria, where it causes disputes between Aristarchus and Zoilus. Christian Patriarchs libel Homer as the "Father" of "Heathenism" and the precedent for Orphic subversions. Homer's archive mirrors Nature despite such various cultivations.

> Rage, than these out of Devotion. At length they spar'd some of the Temples by converting them to Churches, and some of the Statues, by modifying them into images of Saints. (iii.n101)

Just as the Empire of Dulness "devolved to the Popes" who censor "orient Science" and suppress Homer, Pope co-opts powers of Dulness to parody the collective ascendancy of his Grub Street rivals.[87] In the two concluding books of his *Dunciad*, Pope culls images from his own obscure and unpublished juvenilia. The initial couplet of Settle's praise of the anti-hero of Dulness, for example, revives lines from his juvenile fragment, *Alcander*:

> As man's Maeanders to the vital spring
>
> Roll all their tides, then back their circles bring;
>
> Or whirligigs, twirl'd round by skilful swain
>
> Suck the thread in, then yield it out again:
>
> All nonsense thus, of old or modern date,
>
> Shall in thee centre, from thee circulate. (iii.55–60)

In his juvenile poetry (1700–1710), Pope envisions Dulness as a strategy of conveying provocative wit and eluding censorship.[88] Over a decade later, in Scriblerus's *Peri*

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[87] Several twentieth-century critics have emphasized the intensified gloom and the pessimism of Pope's final book of the *Dunciad*, see Aubrey Williams, *Pope's Dunciad: A Study of its Meaning* (London: Methuen, 1955); Robert Griffin, "Pope, the Prophets, and *The Dunciad*" *SEL* 23 (1983): 435–46, 438; Frederic V. Bogel, *Acts of Knowledge: Pope's Later Poems* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell Univ. Press, 1981); *More Solid Learning: New Perspectives on Pope's Dunciad*, eds. Catherine Ingrassia and Claudia N. Thomas (Cranbury, NJ: Associated Univ. Press, 2000), 13–32; 189–207. Paul Hammond, *Selected Prose of Alexander Pope* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), 13.

[88] In his additions to William Wycherley's *Panegyrick on Dulness* ("Lines: *On Dulness*"), Pope portrays "Dulness" as "safe, secure, and innocent," but also as the "last kind Refuge weary Wit can find. . . . So Wit, which most to scorn it does pretend/ With Dulness first began, in Dulness last must end." In his imitation of the Earl of Rochester's *Upon Nothing* ("*On* Silence"), Pope writes, "With thee in private modest *Dulness* lies,/ And in thy Bosom lurks in *Thought*'s Disguise." Pope re-used his first satire ("*To the* AUTHOR *of a* POEM, *intitled*, *SUCCESSIO*") in the *Dunciad* (i.177–80) and in *The Second Satire of Donne Versifyed* (i.33–34). Pope addresses Elkanah Settle, but also figures the dunce as a vehicle for evading censorship: "Wit, past thro' thee, no longer is the same,/ As Meat digested takes a diff'rent Name;/ But Sense must sure thy safest Plunder be,/ Since no Reprizals can be made on thee"; Eds. Norman Ault and John Butt, *The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope, Vol. 6 Minor Poems* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1954), 53, 18, 16. In *Peri Bathous*, he reprints five unpublished juvenile couplets under "Anonymous." One affirms him "eyewitness of things never yet beheld by man, or never in existence; as thus,/ "Thus have I

Bathous: or The Art of Sinking in Poetry, Pope articulated the aesthetics of Dulness via the subjective deviance of an obscure pedant.[89] In the 1730s, he released a series of works that stage a provocative philosophical satire via obscure Orientalist allusions. But to what degree did readers and imitators acknowledge this esoteric design? In the final section, I briefly analyze an anonymous poetic imitation of Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism: *On the nature of the ingenious arts, and the benefits of indulgence to the most curious things* (1747). Although this poem does not appear to have attracted any considerable critical attention during the eighteenth century, it nevertheless shows that at least some of Pope's contemporaries regarded the possibility for an integration of his serious and Scriblerian archives. In its satirical framework of Orientalist imitation, the poem not only seems to acknowledge Pope's imitations of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, but it also stands apart for its self-conscious resistance to conventional rationalist and neoclassical readings of his legacy.

"LIKE EAST AND WEST, 'OFT SENSE AND DULNESS MEET": *ON THE NATURE OF THE INGENIOUS ARTS, AND THE BENEFITS OF INDULGENCE TO THE MOST CURIOUS THINGS*

The author of *Ingenious Arts* synthesizes and condenses imitations of multiple poems by Pope, and embeds these imitations in the context of an Orientalist vision. For instance, the poem combines the aesthetic paradox of *An Essay on Criticism*, the

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seen in Araby the blest,/ A Phoenix couched upon her funeral nest"; Wimsatt, ed. *Alexander Pope: Selected Poetry and Prose*, 316.

[89] In *Peri Bathous*, Scriblerus explains that the profound artist "descend[s] *beneath himself*. . . . [and] acquire[s] a most *happy*, *uncommon*, *unaccountable Way of Thinking*." He asserts, "[A Profound artist's] Design out to be like a Labyrinth, out of which no body can get you clear but himself. And since the great Art of all Poetry is to mix Truth and Fiction, in order to join the Credible with the Surprizing; our Author shall produce the *Credible*, by painting Nature in her *lowest Simplicity*; and the *Surprizing*, by contradicting *Common Opinion*. . . . HE ought therefore to render himself Master of this happy and anti-natural way of thinking to such a degree, as to be able, on the appearance of any Object, to furnish his imagination with Ideas infinitely below it. And his Eyes should be like unto the wrong end of a Perspective Glass, by which all the Objects of Nature are lessen'd." His "*Prolixity*" presents "the Whole and every Side at once of the Image to view"; *The Art of Sinking in Poetry: Martinus Scriblerus's Peri Bathous*, eds. Edna Leake Steeves & R.H. Griffith (New York: King's Crown Press, 1952); 16, 10, 19, 33.

intellectual paradox of *An Essay on Man*, and a paradoxical topological metaphor: "Think in one Point, Presumption to defeat,/ Like East and West, oft' Sense and Dulness meet."[90] The poet of *Ingenious Arts* pursues the visionary and polemical style that Pope described to Judith Cowper and Joseph Spence. Although the text of *Ingenious Arts* is compromised by its fragmentation—the copy presently held in the British Library concludes abruptly as the poem shifts from an imitation of Pope's Orientalism to a Scriblerian parody of Milton—the lines that remain provide evidence that contemporaries imitated the philosophical and satirical modes I have outlined in this chapter. In the paragraphs below, I outline the poem's adaptations of Pope's Indian in *Essay on Man*, and explain how its Oriental *topos* functions in a Scriblerian satire targeting British imperial ideology.

In *Ingenious Arts*, the Indian of *Essay on Man* seems to resurface as an "Indian Philosophic Sage" (*IA* 34), who expresses his sublime poetic genius in a state of "elevated Rage." The anonymous poet of *Ingenious Arts* redeems the spinning Dervish of Pope's *Essay on Man*, claiming that "oft' the self-conceited Fool/ Hurries beyond all Decency and Rule,/ Yet oft' unlocks the secret Stores of Sense,/ And is the Key of Truth and Eloquence."[91] Much like the Pisgah vision of an Empire of Dulness in the *Dunciad*, the poet meets an "Indian Philosophic sage" on a sublime mountaintop. He claims that, "when roving in and unfrequented way" beyond territories known to European travelers:

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[90] Anon., *On the nature of the ingenious arts, and the benefits of indulgence to the most curious things* (London, 1747), 15. Further references cited *IA*.

[91] Anon., *Ingenious Arts*, 11. In its reparative reading of enthusiasm, the poet adopts the polemical and sympathetic approach to Pope's Scriblerian pedantry that characterizes other minor works of the era, such as John Byrom's *Enthusiasm; a poetical essay* (1752). A supporter of the mystical philosophy of William Law, John Byrom interpreted Pope's philosophical poetry as a partial justification for irrationality: "Fly from *Enthusiasm*? Yes, fly from Air,/ And breathe it more intensely for your Care./ Learn, that whatever Phantoms you embrace,/ Your own essential Property takes Place." Byrom also emphasizes enthusiasm as a transformative 'key' to knowledge: "A deeper Sense of *something* that should set/ The Heart at Rest, that never has done yet;/ Some *simpler* Secret that yet unreveal'd,/ Amidst contending Systems lies conceal'd./A Book perhaps beyond the vulgar Page/ Removes at once the Lumber of an Age"; Byrom, *Enthusiasm; a poetical essay, In a letter to a friend in town* (London, 1752), 19, 9–10.

I fortun'd there an INDIAN Sage to know,
  One, who the World's Enticements cou'd forego
And live recluse, as did (we have been told)
Some GRECIAN Sages in the Days of Old.
  A Genius vast! whose penetrating View
Cou'd pass distinctly Art and Nature thro' . . . .
He taught—whence universal Order springs,
What God! what Nature! What the Cause of Things!
  He study'd Man, altho' from Men retir'd,
And knew his secret Aims, as if inspir'd,
Could tell—how the Deserving may insure
That Good supreame—all covet to procure. (*IA* 29–33)

The irony of this final line follows from the reader's attentiveness to Pope's Indian of *Essay on Man*, who retreats to a land where "no Christians thirst for gold." While Pope emphasizes the virtue and humility of the Indian in contrast to his Christian and colonial oppressors, the poet of *Ingenious Arts* depicts an "Indian Philosophic Sage" acquainted with humankind's ruling passion of pride and self-contradiction. Like *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, the Indian Sage condemns the worship of an anthropocentric and ethnocentric Deity, explaining that "all Human Passions and Design" are "inconsistent with a Pow'r Divine," and "Worship is, to Being most sublime,/ In mortal Form—a Folly and a Crime" (*IA* 32). This sage also divulges his cosmic awareness of humanity as an "Emanation from the Pow'r divine;/ One stream, or one uninterrupted Line,/ Moving and influencing still." This sage echoes Pope's Indian and the precedent of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, yet he also emerges as the embodiment of a didactic philosophy suited to the curious and ingenious.

The premise of *Ingenious Art* involves the muse's granting of an aged poet's wish for an imaginative transport to the visionary East, where he will discover forms of art and science unable to flourish in Britain. Britain is both the inheritor and destroyer of poetry, which, "in Resemblance of the Sun,/ From East to West, its radiant Course has run" (3). The harsh climate of Britain prohibits the flourishing of this curious and ingenious art:

> The chearing Sun-shine of Indulgence here,
> So seldom does, or languidly appear,
> Verse may be thought (its sad Condition known)
> In th'Arctick Circle, not the Temp'rate Zone. . . .
> The rarest Product, blest ARABIA boasts,
> Would perish soon, on rough and barren Coasts. (4)

The poet entreats the muse to let him "View ASIA'S Realms," where "pleasing Scenes like PARADISE invite,/ Almost in equal Poise are Day and Night,/ And Heav'n and Earth are ravishing to Sight" (5).[92] In this Eastern pastoral setting, "Nature's rich, nor does she want Supply,/ Her Wildness can with Cultivation vye" (5–6). The poet of *Ingenious Arts* conjures a naïve and exotic East, but also attempts a rebuttal of Eurocentric stereotypes: "The Soil before—now sing the People there. . . . INDIANS are not fantastical and vain,/ Their Garbs are decent, and their Manners plain" (7, 24). The representative Indian sage, furthermore, contrasts the European enthusiast who invented gold and gunpowder: "The Monk invented, in his lonesome cell,/ The Grain, pernicious as the fire of H-ll!" (8). As the poet witnesses the eastward movement of colonists who thirst for gold, he retreats to

[92] In the opening of book two of the *Dunciad*, Pope parodies Milton's depiction of Satan in book two of *Paradise Lost*: "High on a throne of royal state, that far/ Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,/ Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand/ Show'rs on her Kings Barbaric pearl and gold/ Satan exalted sate" (ii.1–5). Pope shifts the description to the West: "High on a gorgeous seat, that far out-shone/ Henley's gilt tub, or Fleckno's Irish throne,/ Or that where on her Curls the Public pours,/ All-bounteous, fragrant Grains and Golden show'rs,/ Great Cibber sate" (ii.1–5).

the island of Ceylon, where "In Bulky Clusters the BONANA grows,/ No rival this in melting Sweetness knows;/ And this, the Christian Indians believe/ The Fruit in PARADISE that tempted Eve" (9–10). After indulging the curiosities of this island, the poet returns to Britain through an animal-vegetable hybrid (also a metaphor for paper credit):

> Now let the curious POLYPEE have Place,
> Yet not as thriving with indulgent Grace;
> But, for th'amazing Qualities we find
> In this wonder of the reptile Kind;
> Dissect it piecemeal–then with vast Surprise
> See from each Piece—a POLYPEE arise!
> See here Destruction new Creation brings!
> And from its Death its Resurrection springs!
> Let us to BRITAIN now direct our View,
> To prove what is to Home-Indulgence due.[93]

By concluding its observations of Eastern curiosities with an account of the Polyp—one point of contact with "Home-Indulgence"—the poem shifts from a fantastic Oriental *topos* to a satirical portrait of imperial British vices. It is not surprising that the poet of *Ingenious Arts* maintained anonymity—his extravagant premise and Orientalist satire would have provoked Pope's orthodox neoclassical supporters as well as his Grub Street enemies. It is striking, however, to find such an extensive amalgamation of Pope's ethical, aesthetic, and satirical poetry with his poignant image of the Indian sage.

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[93] Anon., *Ingenious Arts*, 37. Henry Fielding's "Some Papers to be Read Before the R——l Society" turned the part-animal, part-vegetable Polyp (found to become two separate creatures after dissection) into "chrysipus"—an English Guinea. See *Miscellanies*, ed. Henry Knight Miller (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1972), xxixx.

In the next chapter, I turn to Henry Fielding—the author who contrived the satirical comparison of the Polyp and Paper Credit in "Some Papers to be Read Before the R——l Society" (1743). In contrast to the obscure and anonymous author of *Ingenious Arts*, Fielding composed imitations of Scriblerian satire that are well known to scholars of eighteenth-century British literature. What is not known about this archive, however, is that it repurposes Scriblerian satire to caricature Pope and display his subversions of national ideology and neoclassical values. Chapter two consists of a series of discussions of what I define as the "Counter-Scriblerian" mode. After I reconstruct the performative and anamorphic aspects of this mode and highlight its constitutive antagonism to Pope, I chart out the definitive tropes and techniques that unify Counter-Scriblerian works. In the later sections of the chapter, I use the Counter-Scriblerian mode to analyze Richard Owen Cambridge's 1751 sequel to the *Memoirs*—a burlesque of Scriblerian Orientalism meant to supply the place of the recently expurgated Double Mistress episode. I also examine the contexts of a 1752–1753 Paper War that destabilized distinctions between Scriblerian and Counter-Scriblerian modes. As mid-century authors adopted the wild monstrosities of Fielding's Scriblerian style, they assumed an ambivalent fidelity to the legacy of Pope.

Chapter 2: "As half to show, half veil, the deep Intent": The Dialectic of Form and Deformity in Henry Fielding's Counter-Scriblerian Satire

In his recent tercentenary article on Henry Fielding's legacy in scholarship, Robert D. Hume highlights four "imposed contexts" that have caused "severe distortion or misunderstanding" in contemporary criticism.[1] Two of these four impositions pertain to Fielding's relationship to Pope and Swift's "Augustan" and/or "Scriblerian" contexts. First, Hume invokes Howard Erskine-Hill's and Howard Weinbrot's demystifications of the "Augustan" ideal. Second, he denies Fielding's investment in the satirical pattern of Pope and Swift's "Scriblerian" works: "I see no evidence that Fielding was modeling himself on the so-called Scriblerians in the 1730s or that he was shaping his career with their examples in mind."[2] It is important to consider whether Fielding was uninterested in Scriblerian satire, or whether, as Weinbrot argues, he rejected the genre and joined a chorus of voices against Pope.[3] This chapter explores how Fielding perceived the inner formalism of Scriblerian nonsense as a mirror of the counterfeits and subversions lurking in Pope's transgressive and genre-bending Augustan authority. In showing how he co-opted and repurposed Scriblerian anamorphosis in a novel didacticism meant to purge Britain of Papist plots, this chapter aims to refine what Ashley Marshall has identified as

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[1] Robert D. Hume, "Fielding at 300: Elusive, Confusing, Misappropriated, or (Perhaps) Obvious?," *Modern Philology* 108.2 (2010): 224–62, 234.

[2] Hume, "Fielding at 300," 239. In Hume's estimation, critics have not sufficiently established Fielding's combination of experimental forms with circumstantial, occasional, and realist subject matter. Without such integration, critics have promoted a moralizing version of Fielding's didacticism. Hume contends, "Fielding's writing is didactic but not preaching—and there is a major difference. . . . Fielding unquestionably has 'designs' on the reader. . . . he aims to instruct by example, not by precept" (261–62). I question how Fielding exposes Pope's "Darkness visible" without indulging "Mysteries . . . which he durst not fully reveal," how he presumes "*half to show, half veil, the deep intent*" through a pattern of imitation and insinuation in which "*more is meant than meets the ear*" (i.n4). In other words, how does Fielding conjure Pope's seductions for his audience so as to teach them what they should avoid and not tempt them in the process?

[3] See Howard Weinbrot, "Fielding's *Tragedy of Tragedies*: Papal Fallibility and Scriblerian Satire," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 7.1 (1996): 20–39, 22–25

uncritical scholarly comparisons between Fielding and the Scriblerians.[4] Following Weinbrot's claim that Fielding's "success-oriented" satires differ from Pope and Swift's strident malignity, Marshall rightly distinguishes "tonal differences" in Fielding's humor. She does not consider his humor as salient to Pope's affectation of opposing a Dulness he himself embodies, however.[5] Since Marshall dismisses Scriblerian satire as a twentieth-century academic myth and not a duplicitous sorcery borne out of Pope's adaptations of Orientalist texts, she overlooks the Counter-Scriblerian orientation motivating Fielding's emphasis on rhetorical and commercial success. Once we regard Pope's private deformity (physical, cultural, literary, and moral) as the target of Fielding's waggish performances, the contours of his moral burlesque attain a degree of clarity not yet perceived by critics.

In his recent Wesleyan edition of Fielding's plays, Thomas Lockwood claims that his 1730 farce *Tom Thumb* "follows the pattern of the *Beggar's Opera*, so merrily reproducing the low subject material as to lose the official disapproval in the merriment." Lockwood distinguishes the "H. Scriblerus Secundus" who edits the printed version of the extended *The Tragedy of Tragedies: or, The Life and Death of Tom Thumb the Great* (1731) from his progenitor: "Martinus Scriblerus represents a far more determined mockery of false scholarship than his junior namesake, who follows the older pattern more selectively, with less regulated purpose, than allowed by the traditional view of

[4] For arguments concerning Fielding's Scriblerian influence, see Roger D. Lund, "Augustan Burlesque and the Genesis of *Joseph Andrews*," *Studies in Philology* 103 (2006): 88–119; Claude Rawson, "Heroic Notes: Epic Idiom, Revision and the Mock-Footnote from *The Rape of the Lock* to the *Dunciad*," in *Alexander Pope and his World*, ed. Erskine-Hill (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1998); 69–110; Rawson, "*Henry Fielding and the Augustan Ideal Under Stress: 'Nature's Dance of Death' and Other Studies* (London: Routledge, 1972); Martin and Ruthe R. Battestin, *Henry Fielding: A Life* (London: Routledge, 1989); Nancy Mace, "Fielding, Theobald, and *The Tragedy of Tragedies*," *Philological Quarterly* 66 (1987): 457–72, 461; Ronald Paulson, *Satire and the Novel in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 1967).

[5] Simon Dickie frames the dialectic of politeness and vulgarity, sentimentality and cruelty as a tension in *Joseph Andrews*. See *Cruelty and Laughter: Forgotten Literature and the Unsentimental Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press, 2011), 156–90.

Fielding as eagerly seconding the Scriblerian cause."[6] By parsing out Fielding's varied response to distinct Scriblerian works, Lockwood captures his ambivalence to an archive that consisted of fashionable works, such as the *Beggar's Opera*, and more insidious satires, such as *Polly* or Pope's *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus*. According to Peter Lewis, Gay's sequel to the *Beggar's Opera* buried "a minefield of innuendo and irony beneath a seemingly innocuous surface."[7] Suppressed at John Rich's Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1728, the 1729 printed text of *Polly* depicts Macheath's transformation into the blackface pirate "Marano" and Polly Peachum's marriage to "Cawwawakee": an Indian who hopes to resist the incursions of Marano/Macheath, the West Indian planters, and their shared imperial thirst for gold.[8] While Fielding ambivalently approved of parallels between judges and highwaymen in Gay's initial depiction of a loveable rake, he neither accepted the sequel's comparisons of imperial planters and maritime corsairs, nor sanctioned its sentimental affinity with the outsider couple of Polly and Cawwakee, whose pastoral marriage restores a dramatic order alongside the tragic farce of Macheath/Marano's execution. Despite the unquestionable popularity of the *Beggar's Opera*, the structure of the two-part drama (*The Beggar's Opera* and *Polly*) epitomizes a dangerous modal hybridity foreshadowed in *The What d'Ye Call It: A Tragi-Comi-Pastoral Farce* (1715). By duplicating Macheath as the villain Marano, and contrasting him with Cawwakee, Gay's dramatic characterizations conspire with a network of

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[6] Thomas Lockwood, ed., *The Wesleyan Edition of the Works of Henry Fielding: Plays, Vol. 1* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), 363, 510.

[7] Peter Lewis, "An 'Irregular Dog': Gay's Alternative Theatre, *The Yearbook of English Studies* 18 (1988): 231–46, 232.

[8] While Lewis remarks on the aesthetic "orthodoxy" of *Polly*, many have highlighted its earnest anti-colonial vehemence. See John Richardson, "John Gay and Slavery," *Modern Language Review*, 97.1 (2002): 15–25; Clement Hawes, "Singing the Imperial Blues: Wole Soyinka and the Scriblerians," *Bucknell Review* 41 (1998): 139–59. Macheath's black mask connects him with the figures of the Harlequin stage as well as rural "Blacks" who compelled Walpole's draconian anti-poaching statutes in 1723. See E.P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters: The Origin of the Black Act* (London: Allen Lane, 1975).

outsider Scriblerian protagonists and personae, such as Lemuel Gulliver, Martinus Scriblerus, the Indian of *Essay on Man*, and Ebn-Hai Paw-Waw of the *Memoirs*.

By 1729, the year in which Fielding began writing Counter-Scriblerian parodies under the guidance of his second cousin Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, the "Scriblerus Club" must have seemed a force to be reckoned with. In 1726, Swift released *Travels into Remote Nations of the World, in Four Parts. By Lemuel Gulliver*. In 1727, Pope published Martinus Scriblerus's *Art of Sinking in Poetry* along with the first volume of the four-volume *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* (1727–1732). Pope printed the first three books of his *Dunciad* in 1728, and revised them in the 1729 *Dunciad with Notes Variorum and the Prolegomena of Scriblerus*. While the four-book of the *Dunciad* and *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* would not appear in print for another decade, Fielding's anticipation of their plot and themes implies a private knowledge of the manuscript drafts Pope began mailing to friends as early as 1716. Fielding, furthermore, was aware of improprieties in Pope's classical imitations, pseudonymous schemes on Addison's circle, and minor Scriblerian works with suspicious ties to the posthumous 1726 *Miscellanies* of a previously unpublished doctor named William Wagstaffe. While he borrowed his anti-hero "Tom Thumb" from Wagstaffe's archive, Fielding also adopted Pope's hints toward a satirical deity named "Momus," who possesses a magical window that exhibits secret machinations and maggots bred privately in the breast, but kept hidden from public view. Norman Ault credits Pope with the dissemination of Momus's window as a trope signifying anamorphic perspectives into secret artifices.[9] While Sterne's allusion to

[9] Pope references to Momus in *Guardian* no. 106 ("The Dream of a Window in his Mistress's Breast"), in a letter to Lady Mary ("If Momus's project had taken, of having windows in our breasts"), in a letter to Charles Jervas ("The old project of a window in the bosom, to render the soul of man visible"), and in *Guardian* no. 172 ("The Philosopher who wish'd he had a Window to his Breast, to lay open his Heart to all the World"), and in several lines of *Rape of the Lock* (the "moving Toyshop of their Heart. . . . in her Breast reclined,/ He watch'd th'Ideas rising in her Mind. . . . Expos'd thro' Chrystal to the gazing Eyes"; Ault, ed., *Prose Works of Alexander Pope,* lxv–lxviii, lxvi.

"Momus's glass" in *Tristram Shandy* signifies the prominence of the trope by mid-century, the Counter-Scriblerian character of "Momus" assumes a role as the carnivalesque villain who guides Scriblerus from Orientalist antiquarianism to alchemy in Richard Owen Cambridge's *The Scribleriad: An Heroic Poem in Six Books* (1751). Momus also surfaces as a pervasive referent in the "Paper War of 1752–1753,"[10] in which Fielding's rivals turned his "success-oriented" Counter-Scriblerianism against him, unleashing a Grubean torrent of monsters produced by "waggish Nature & fantastick Art": "Hermaphrodites and Conjurers . . . Quacks, Turks, Enthusiasts, and Fire Eaters."[11] As a mirror-opposite of the Mary Midnight persona, which Lance Bertelsen identifies as a "pervasive referent, almost an atmosphere. . . . redolent of the madcap, transformative, irreverent subjects and goings-on" amidst Grubean subcultures,[12] the Counter-Scriblerian character of Momus instead reveals a death's head hidden in the center of Pope's archive.

The startling and uncanny revelations of Momus function in a manner comparable to the post-Renaissance painterly technique, whose etymology derives from Greek words

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[10] Tristram explains, "If the fixture of *Momus*'s glass, in the human breast, according to the proposed emendation of that arch-critick, had taken place . . . the very wisest and gravest of us all . . . must have paid window money every day of our lives . . . had the said glass been there set up, nothing would have been wanting . . . to have taken a man's character, but to have taken a chair and gone softly, as you would to a dioptrical bee-hive, and look'd in,--view'd the soul stark naked;---observ'd all her motions,—her machinations;—traced all the maggots from their first engendering to their crawling forth"; Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, edited by Ian Campbell Ross (Oxford: Oxford World Classics, 1998), 82–83. Further references cited *TS*. In *Yorick's Meditations*, a chapter of "MEDITATION upon MOMUS'S GLASS" states "that Momus once upon a time, proposed in a council of the gods, that every man should carry a window in his breast, that his most secret thoughts might be exposed to all others, which would prevent men from having it in their power to impose upon each other"; *Yorick's Meditations upon various and important subjects* (Dublin, 1760), 37–9. On the role of windows in Double Mistress's parody of *Commedia dell' Arte*, see A.E. Wilson, *King Panto: The Story of Pantomime* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc, 1935), 41.

[11] Lance Bertelsen, *Henry Fielding at Work: Magistrate, Businessman, Writer* (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 101.

[12] For an account of the "positively transgressive impulses" personified by Mary Midnight, see Bertelsen, "Journalism, Carnival, and *Jubilate Agno*," *ELH* 59 (1992): 357–84, 358. Bertelsen also addresses the "mock-mythical (or mock-magical) Grubean world" of the Paper Wars in "'Neutral Nonsense, neither False nor True': Christopher Smart and the Paper War(s) of 1752–53," in *Christopher Smart and the Enlightenment*, ed. Clement Hawes (New York: St. Martin's, 1999), 135–152; 141, 145.

ana (again/against) *morphe* (shape/form). Anamorphic art submits classical geometrical perspective to systematic spatial manipulation, thwarting a "centric" viewer's apprehension while also conjuring three-dimensional forms for an off-axis, lateral, or "eccentric" viewer. The perception of anamorphic form demands a slanted, monocular, cyclopean, "keyhole" gaze—such that its voyeur mechanics coincide with its aura of secrecy. Daniel Collins notes, "This is not the stuff of mass media. . . . this 'secret discourse' is ideally suited for the depiction of difficult or illicit subject matter. . . . [In anamorphic art] the viewer occupies the vantage point of a voyeur who must commit (to) the act of seeing. . . . [this technique lends] the reader/observer a special role, an active function—in a word, an identity."[13] Collins's differentiation of anamorphosis from "mass media" means that it differs from easily accessible hack work, not that the technique does not apply in commercial and popular contexts. The active function of the anamorphic viewer, furthermore, encompasses a discomforting knowledge and a marginal identity as much as it may also entail frameworks of exclusivity or elitism. The final lines of Scriblerus' *Memoirs*, for instance, invoke the phenomenon of readers' access to eccentric or insider perspectives: "we warn the publick, to take particular notice of all such as manifest any indecent Passion at the appearance of this Work, as Persons most certainly involved in the Guilt" (170). In one sense, Pope depended on the pride of the dunces, who applied the thinly veiled surnames in the *Dunciad* to themselves. In another sense, the final lines of the *Memoirs* interpellate readers who are either familiar with the text's

[13] According to Lyle Massey, "anamorphic perspective challenges both the supposedly rational construction of vision associated with perspective and the assumed rationality of the Cartesian subject." Maria Scott compares it to "a gesture of address rather than . . . a simple representation," mobilizing fascination to entrap the observer. As embodied gaze merges with a form in the canvas, as anamorphosis destabilizes subject-object dichotomies needed for objective criticism. Daniel L. Collins, "Anamorphosis and the Eccentric Observer: Inverted Perspective and Construction of the Gaze," *Leonardo* 25.1 (1992): 73–82; Lyle Massey, "Anamorphosis through Descartes or Perspective Gone Awry," *Renaissance Quarterly* 50.4 (1997): 1148–89; Maria Scott, "Lacan's 'Of the Gaze as Objet Petit a' as Anamorphic Discourse," *Paragraph* 31.3 (2008): 327–43.

complexity or cognizant that the persona of Scriblerus embodies the formal character of Pope's deformity.[14] The complexity and pedantry of Scriblerian satire make Pope liable to charges of insider tactics, but they also enable visions of his most vulnerable and marginalized, most experimental and speculatively inclined modes of identification.

The Counter-Scriblerian character of Momus unveils the monstrous absurdity of a design not easily accessible to a general audience. For example, Cambridge's *Scribleriad* recruits Momus to pathologize the Scriblerian Orientalism of Pope's Double Mistress. In his temptations of Scriblerus from Orientalism to alchemy, Momus guides readers to a slanted view of that anamorphic Scriblerian centerpiece—the Double Mistress—where doublings of identity confound judgment, conflations of opposites produce singular paradoxes, and a backdrop of Orientalist allusion informs the reversal of Scriblerus from the role of idiot to that of savant. Maja-Lisa Von Sneidern argues that the anamorphosis of the Double Mistress "conflates the visceral and intellectual, the sensual and cerebral, flux and stability. It proliferates content and offers it an authorized place to be exhibited while it graphically represents form imposed on content." Von Sneidern depicts Scriblerus's "cohabitation" with Ebn-Hai Paw-Waw and Lindamira-Indamora as a "synonym for anamorphosis run amok, an aesthetic practice that has slipped its bounds,

[14] T.R. Steiner's unpublished 1977 essay, "Homer's Ape: Teaching Pope," systematizes an anamorphic pedagogy, which asks students to locate Pope's "personality" or "self" in each of his poems. Steiner considers Pope's ironic self-identification in the *Dunciad*: "Everywhere in the text, Pope drops innumerable clews of all sorts which the devoted Popean may follow through the *Dunciad* labyrinth for his unspeakable amusement and instruction. . . . Pope in a sense 'accepts' . . . [the] all too obvious and therefore very popular, is 'Ape': Let us,' Dennis had once said, 'take the initial letter of his Christian name, and the initial and final letters of his surname, *viz*., A.P.E. and they give you the same Idea of an *Ape*, as his face.' Brutal, the Augustans played rough games, but the kind of linguistic sport, which was one method of Pope's own muse. Pope seems to let it pass, but knowing Pope's method I perk up and keep an eye open for what the Provencals would call the Popean *senhal*. I am not disappointed: I see the creature again in the Alexandrian Museum and the Library of the notes, mischieviously peering out at us, perhaps smiling like the British lion several pages away in a mock coat of arms. Early in Book IV, one footnote a propos of the exaltation of Dulness says in thick Gothic letters: 'The higher you climb, the more you shew your A[rse]. Emblematized . . . by an Ape climbing and exposing his posteriors.' Take that, Dennis" (15–16); The Harry Ransom Center; Austin, TX; Box 100 Folder 5.

and the bounds of its artistically and scientifically informed principles. Cohabitation, with its threat of an accidental 'slide' from 'duty' into 'trespass' that no tactic of spatial or rhetorical positioning can prevent, exposes the limitations of even a multi-perspectival genre."[15] Darryl P. Domingo depicts an anamorphic aspect of the Scriblerians' penchant for "nonverbal wit," "silent rhetorick," and "physical antics." He conceptualizes the embodied topology of Martinus Scriblerus's reputed origins: "The Seven Dials was notorious as a place in which people became befuddled and lost—a locus of labyrinthine confusion."[16] Fielding conceived of Pope's eminent Augustan persona in terms of the "labyrinthine confusion" Domingo depicts, and he burlesqued the great danger of Pope's body and fancy by placing him center-stage as the grotesque miniature, Tom Thumb. Fielding's biographer, Arthur Murphy, praised his talents for caricature, "when, in the draught of a man, the leading feature is extended beyond measure . . . the representation holds the province of farce. . . . The mock tragedy of Tom Thumb is replete with as fine a parody as, perhaps, has ever been written." Murphy compares Fielding's *Tom Thumb* with Pope's Orientalist Homer, and ironically suggests the propriety of Fielding's farce:

> Shall we not admire and venerate the vigour of that mind, which, in an age of darkness and ignorance, could . . . import [learning] into Greece from various Asiatic climes. . . . [Homer] availed himself of all the knowledge, religion, and mythology, that in his time were scattered over the different regions of Asia and

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[15] Von Sneidern contends that the Double Mistress chapters "have a special anamorphic resonance in that they render (in both the literary and culinary sense) a number of discourses into essences of materiality and absurdity. Religious discourse is marginalized, metaphysical aspects of Christian doctrine are portrayed in a burlesque of materialist philosophy, and the affective or pathetic appeal of Christianity is appropriated by an exaggerated language of romantic love." Von Sneidern, "Joined at the Hip: A Monster, Colonialism, and the Scriblerian Project," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 30.3 (1997): 213–31; 215–19, 224–25. Erskine-Hill approaches anamorphosis in his concept of a "twofold vision" in which Pope shifted "from one framework of fidelity to another" in public and private representations Howard Erskine-Hill, "Twofold Vision in Eighteenth-Century Writing," *ELH* 64.4 (1997): 903–24, 905–6.

[16] Darryl P. Domingo, "The Natural Propensity of Imitation" or, Pantomimic Poetics and the Rhetoric of Augustan Wit," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 9.2 (2009): 51–95,71; Domingo, "Scriblerus takes a London walk: or, The Pedantic Perambulation of Gay's Trivia," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 74.4 (2005): 943–56, 955.

> Greece. What is here asserted concerning Homer, may also with truth be asserted of Mr. Pope.[17]

As the following sections demonstrate, Fielding's dramatic burlesque and the instructive paratext of H. Scriblerus Secundus mutually contribute to the transmission of an anamorphic Counter-Scriblerian "pop." The following sections address Fielding's anamorphic characterization of Pope as a "Somebody" and "Nobody." They explore his self-conscious manipulations of dramatic genres, his distinctive tonal effects (and affects), and his recourse to a Grubean archive from which arises Tom Thumb, Momus, and the "Helter Skelter" mode of mock-Orientalist etymology. The final sections take up the influence of Counter-Scriblerian genres in Cambridge's *Scribleriad*, but also assess Fielding's difficulty of preserving his dignified public office from the taint of a career achieved by standing on the shoulders of a hunchbacked sorcerer and Scriblerian master.

STAGING A SCRIBLERIAN POPE: FIELDING'S SELF-REFLEXIVE PERFORMANCE

Patricia Carr Brückmann highlights the self-reflexivity of Fielding's Scriblerian dramas, pointing to his "insistent demand for the active involvement of readers in the action," and depicting his reliance on "a very special kind of allusion—a constant spinning of the reader-viewer from the immediacies of the text to other texts against which they are measured, compared, and enlarged."[18] Similarly, Joseph Roach brackets a distinct phase in Fielding's career between Pope's 1729 *Dunciad Variorum* and his four-book edition of 1743. Roach contends that his dramas of the period experiment with "*subtext*, the poetry of unspoken thought. . . . of nonspeech as thought." Through this manipulation of gesture and subterfuge, Fielding's dramas "directly disclose as little

[17] Arthur Murphy, ed., *The Works of Henry Fielding, Esq., vol. 1*, 8 vols. (London, 1762), 25–26, 30–34.
[18] Patricia Carr Brückmann, *A Manner of Correspondence: A Study of the Scriblerus Club* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1997), 102–6.

information as possible," yet "tap into underlying feelings" through insinuation and innuendo: "Text dissolves into subtext, floating free in the spontaneous transactions of the parties to the dialogue of unacknowledged premises and hidden agendas."[19] Whereas Brückmann and Roach identify the influence of a Scriblerian medium of performative allusion, they downplay the degree to which Fielding deployed these tactics against Pope in particular. By caricaturing his body and authorship as Tom Thumb—a foreign interloper and monstrous artificer in the mythic court of Arthur—Fielding subjects Scriblerian subversion to the kinetic logic of pantomime.[20] John O'Brien depicts the reformed genre of critical mimicry as "a focal point of the *cultural* politics of the 1720s," but particularly in "the Scriblerian counterattack against the seeming debasement of culture." O'Brien construes the "wit corporeal" of critical pantomime in three interlaced senses, which involve "the embodied performer . . . embodied spectator . . . and finally, the material aspect of language itself." Unlike the medium of print, pantomime functions "not as a transparent medium, but as a physical force," whose "materiality had to be acknowledged, accounted for, and either put to work in the service of underscoring the constructedness of human knowledge, or transcended in the interest of making the author's ideas intelligible to the audience."[21] Despite the humorous excess of Fielding's

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[19] Joseph Roach, "'The Uncreating Word': Silence and Unspoken Thought in Fielding's Drama," in *Henry Fielding (1707–1754), Novelist, Playwright, Journalist, Magistrate* (Newark, DE: Univ. of Delaware Press, 2008), 40–58; 45, 56. See also J. Paul Hunter, "Fielding's Reflexive Plays and the Rhetoric of Discovery," in *Henry Fielding*, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1987): 97–129; William Empson, *Some Versions of Pastoral* (New York: New Directions, 1974), 57, 206–208. For a summary of criticism on Fielding's rehearsal genre, see Thomas Lockwood, ed., *The Wesleyan Edition of the Works of Henry Fielding: Plays, vol. 1, 1728–1731* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 2004), 206–12. Further references cited *T*.

[20] Likewise, Hugh Kenner depicts the twentieth-century pantomime's kinetic logic. He claims Buster Keaton as the age's "comedian of archaic dignity, its Aeschylus and its Scriblerus. . . . This is the true Art of Sinking, into which no one ever went so deeply as he. . . . Buster Keaton's subject was kinetic man, a being he approached with the almost metaphysical awe we reserve for a Doppelgänger" (*C* 43, 69).

[21] O'Brien claims "Parody or burlesque creates . . . a parasitic or negative relationship to its host material, and seems to threaten the capacity of performance to serve as a vehicle for positive meanings"; *Harlequin Britain: Pantomime and Entertainment, 1690–1760* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Univ. Press,

burlesques, O'Brien argues, he also implicitly constructs the anamorphic window of a "rational view that permits him to see behind the surface appearances to the true cause of social and cultural problems."[22] While it may appear that Fielding inherits Pope's identity as a censor of cultural degradation, in fact he turned Scriblerian tactics against the unnoticed falsehoods of Pope's Augustan persona. Alongside Fielding's malicious physical parody of Pope as Tom Thumb, H. Secundus Scriblerus's notes to the *Tragedy* demonstrate the latent aesthetic and cultural subversions of Pope's Scriblerian genre.

The Tragedy of Tragedies proved the most famous of six plays Fielding produced at Little Haymarket Theatre under the pseudonym of H. Scriblerus Secundus. This drama anticipates Pope's release of the *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* by over a decade. In transforming the two-act *Tom Thumb* into a *Tragedy* with the supplementary text of H. Scriblerus Secundus, Fielding frames the original farce within an apparatus of ironic scholarship and mock-criticism. Whereas Martinus Scriblerus depicted Pope's *Dunciad Variorum* as an imitation of Homer's lost *Margites*, H. Scriblerus Secundus's Preface derives the *Tragedy* from a recently discovered Elizabethan-era manuscript, which informed the subsequent emergence of the Restoration-era heroic drama of John Dryden. While Scriblerus Secundus footnotes the *Tragedy*'s numerous imitations of heroic drama,

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2004), xviii–xix, 62, 18. See also Deidre Lynch, "Overloaded Portraits: The Excesses of Character and Countenance," in *Body & Text in the Eighteenth-Century*, Edited by Veronica Kelly and Dorothea Von Mücke (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1994), 112–43, 118; Neil Saccamano, "Wits Breaks" in *Body & Text*, 45–67, 47. In *The Midwife* no. 4 ("A Dissertation on Dumb Rhetoric"), Christopher Smart claimed that a "Pantomime is to a Play, what the *Arabian* Tales are to a Novel; in the latter you have nothing but what may be fact, and in the former there's hardly anything that can be so. The *Talismans*, the *Genii*, and many other Things out of Nature, afford astonishing Delight to the young Readers, and I own I like them to this Day"; *The Midwife, or the Old Woman's Magazine* (London, 1750), 145.

[22] O'Brien, *Harlequin Britain*, 197–99. In *Tom Jones*, he justifies the genre of pantomime in the repertoire of a "dull' author, who "is, as Mr. *Pope* observes,/ *Sleepless himself, to give his Readers Sleep*./ To say the Truth, these soporific Parts are so many Scenes of *Serious* so artfully interwoven, in order to contrast and set off the rest; and that is the true meaning of the late facetious Writer, who told the pubic, that whenever he was dull, they might be assured there was a design in it"; Henry Fielding, *Tom Jones*, ed. Sheridan Baker (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1973), 160–61.

he fails to identify the play's clear plagiarisms and distortions of Shakespearean lines. Robert Hume explains that the notes "effectively document the target sources and simulate scholarly clutter, while enjoying a horrid fascination of their own," for the "celebrated heroic plays of the preceding seventy years really do contain the sort of bombast Fielding quarries and displays."[23] Scriblerus Secundus's notes apply Pope's Scriblerian pedantry to the mockery of a Restoration neoclassical drama that denigrates the sublime precedent of Shakespeare. Insofar as Fielding's play depicts Tom Thumb's mock-heroic corruption of Arthur's mythic British Court, Scriblerus Secundus's annotations target a mode of neoclassical burlesque inimical to Britain's literary tradition.

Fielding simulates the genre of personal mockery and aesthetic parody that the Duke of Buckingham famously deployed against Dryden in *The Rehearsal* (1671). J. Paul Hunter traces Fielding's "rehearsal drama" to a "long tradition of strategies which implicitly contrast a work-in-progress and which emphasize the impingement of an author's individual talents, ideas, and eccentricities upon dramatic theory." "Rather than clarifying the play's meaning," the rehearsal drama "continuously falsifies and clouds" its own significance, "but in doing so [it] often focuses on cruces and underscores areas of ambiguity in such a way as to highlight problems and indirectly to invite the reader to wrestle with issues for himself." Hunter explains rehearsal dramas as being "much more about response than creation," such that they serve as "a convenient means to move among controversies without rigidity, and to explore treacherous areas by indirect access."[24] Given the self-conscious mediation that the rehearsal genre enables, we should

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[23] Robert Hume, *Henry Fielding and the London Theatre, 1728–1737* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 88.

[24] Hunter, "Fielding's Reflexive Plays," 99, 105. See also Nichola Parsons, *Reading Gossip in Early eighteenth-Century Britain* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006), 128–33. On Fielding's burlesque gender representations of Catholics and Jacobites such as Pope, see Jill Campbell, *Natural Masques: Gender and Identity in Fielding's Plays and Novels* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1995).

not be surprised to find it appropriated by both the Scriblerians and their enemies. Pope and the Scriblerians included a rehearsal subplot in *Three Hours After Marriage* (1717), and they were themselves lampooned in Charles Gildon's *New Rehearsal, or Bays the Younger* (1714), John Breval's *Confederates* (1717), and "The Candidates for the Bays"—a mock-epithalamium contest that "Scriblerus Tertius" billed in 1730 as "an intire *New* ACT to the Comical Tragedy of TOM THUMB."[25] These parodies of the Scriblerians emphasize Pope's central contribution to the subversive and ludicrous mode.

Traditionally, Fielding's Counter-Scriblerian drama has not been seen as a plunge into the pedantic obscurity of its forbear. In what follows, I suggest that Fielding's *Tragedy* delves further into topical gossip and erudite obscurity than critics have realized. Fielding repurposed an inner form of Scriblerian nonsense and parodied the outward deformity of Pope's presumption to imitate the classics. This Counter-Scriblerian satire bears a debt to his relationship with Lady Mary Wortley Montagu—a confidante of Pope and "almost a Scriblerian," according to Valerie Rumbold.[26] During Lady Mary's 1716–1718 journey to the British Embassy at Constantinople, she wrote letters to Pope

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[25] Gildon staged Pope as "Sawney Dapper": an innovator in "Versification" on "odd out of the way" subjects, who mocks a classicism he can't read. Addison's periodical *The Free-holder* no. 27 (23 March 1716) burlesqued Pope as a Jacobite "Highland Seer" named "Second-Sighted Sawney." See also James Ralph, *Sawney: An Heroic Poem* (London, 1728); Breval's *Confederates* alludes to Mr. "Randall *in* Channel-Row, *the famous Monster-monger*" (the owner of Lindamira-Indamora in the *Memoirs*). See Addison, *The Free-holder* (London, 1715–16), 432; Gildon, *The New Rehearsal, or Bays the Younger* (London, 1714), 16–17; John Durant Breval [Joseph Gay, pseud.], *The Confederates: A Farce* (London, 1717), 42; Thomas Cooke [Scriblerus Quartus, pseud.], *The Bays Miscellany, or Colley Triumphant* (London, 1730), 21–25. In *A Key to the Farce call'd Three Hours After Marriage* Breval identified Pope's invention of the female hack-writer, Phoebe Clinket, and of a love triangle plagiarized "from a *Farce*, in the *Theatre Italien*, call'd *The Mummies of* AEgypt"; *Miscellanies, upon Several Subjects; occasionally written by Joseph Gay* (London, 1719), 14.

[26] Valerie Rumbold claims Lady Mary was "almost a Scriblerian" in the 1710s; *Women's Place in Pope's World* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989), 134, 138–40. By the 1720s, Moyra Haslett claims, Lady Mary "was so ready to perceive the Scriblerians as a group, that she believed *Gulliver's Travels* was written by Pope, Swift, and Arbuthnot"; Haslett, *Pope to Burney, 1714–1779: Scriblerians to Bluestockings* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 14. I contend that Haslett's assertion might be reframed to emphasize the relative prominence of Pope's hand in all of the major Scriblerian works.

appealing to their shared interest in modes of "Oriental Learning."[27] While Lady Mary discusses her experience as a traveler, her lessons in Arabic, and her encounters with Ottoman gardens and poetry, Pope adopts a tactical and self-deprecating identification with an imaginary Orient, wherein his stigmatized deformity is translated into a virtue. He also constructs the East as a space of libertine fantasy, imagining the transformative effects of climate and religion on Lady Mary's spiritual and moral identity.[28] At the height of their mutual enmity in 1733, Lady Mary reversed Pope's methods of creative topological embodiment, infamously aligning his deformed neoclassicism and physique as the "Resemblance and Disgrace" of a humanist and human original. Four years earlier, in a poem entitled "Her Palace placed beneath a muddy road," Lady Mary envisions his Twickenham grotto as a horrid abode of Dulness.[29] In 1729, she encouraged Fielding to write the "ambitious, unfinished burlesque epic," in which Dulness visits her sleeping son, Codrus, and grants him a dream journey into the wilds of Russia. In the cavernous pandemonium of his father, the god of "Rhime," Codrus learns to "undermine the state" by abusing the classics, but he is also abused by a Scriblerian cohort and by Scriblerus himself.[30] Isobel Grundy contends that the poem's language "reflects that of Pope, both

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[27] Lady Mary wrote him letters on her forays in "Oriental learning" and neoclassical adaptations of Orientalist transliterations. She praised his Homer: "You have drawn the golden current of Pactolus to Twickenham. I call this finding the philosopher's stone, since you alone found out the secret and nobody else has got into it." She also invokes the Orientalist satire of *Guardian* no. 61 in comparing the Turkish leisure to customs of "cudgel playing or foot-ball to our British swains"; *Letters from the Right Honourable Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 1709 to 1762* (London: J.M. Dent, 1906), 149, 177.

[28] Sherburn, ed., *Correspondence*, i.406, 384, 440. He imagines her "Oriental self" as having "advanced so far back into true nature & simplicity of manners" that it will have "left off, as unwieldly & cumbersome, a great many damn'd European Habits" (i.494).

[29] Fielding dedicated his first stage performance, *Love in Several Masques* (1728), to his primary advocate, Lady Mary. See Lockwood, ed., *Plays of Henry Fielding*, 19; Robert Halsband and Isobel Grundy, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu: Essays and Poems; and Simplicity, A Comedy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 266.

[30] Scriblerus accuses Pope of ingratitude: "Yet something sure for Dulness I have done/ I have abused immortal Ad[dison]/ Sense and Religion taught his Skilful Pen/ The best of Criticks, and the best of Men./ With Censure him the Bathos doth pursue/ To me—O Poets—is that Bathos due"; See Montagu, *Essays and Poems*, 247–55; Grundy, "New Verse by Henry Fielding," *PMLA* 87.2 (1972): 213–45, 225–36.

in his translations of Homer and in his own burlesque epic [*The Dunciad*]," yet it also represents "an attempt to turn Pope's weapons against himself." Fielding transforms Pope into the Goddess Dulness by keeping "two standards of comparison, that with Homer and that with the *Dunciad*, constantly before the reader. He followed this method again in *The Tragedy of Tragedies*, where Tom Thumb is a hero both of high tragedy and nursery rhyme."[31] If Fielding became a Counter-Scriblerian under Lady Mary's patronage and tutelage, he also acquired a proclivity for joining crude personal burlesque with astute extrapolations of Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism. When he revised *Tom Thumb* into the more ambitious *Tragedy*, Fielding focalized this anamorphic and didactic burlesque.

The next section will summarize Fielding's two Counter-Scriblerian plays, devoting a particular attention to his anamorphic tactics of keeping "two standards of comparison" in front of the audience. In particular, I explore how the extended *Tragedy* creates resonances between the performative stage spectacle and eccentric reading text compiled by Scriblerus Secundus. Building on Grundy's assertion that Fielding invokes an implicit dialectic between Homer and Scriblerus, I argue that he presents an embodied version of Pope's deformed neoclassicism alongside a conceptual representation of the "Oriental self" Pope crafted in opposition to the hierarchical conventions of beauty and truth, which prevented him from living a 'normal' existence in Britain.[32] The resonances between stage and page in the *Tragedy* engender a series of virtual doublings, in which Pope's eminent classical authority is revealed as a subversive carnivalesque corruption, while his private deformity is uncovered as the formal basis of an occult foreign satire.

These virtual doublings of Pope's Scriblerian identity may be profitably compared to the stock characters of "Somebody" and "Nobody" in Air VII ("The Black Joke") of

[31] Grundy, "New Verse," 213–16.
[32] On Pope's concept of the "Oriental self," see Sherburn, ed., *Correspondence*, i.494.

The Author's Farce. Fielding's first play under the persona of Scriblerus Secundus, *The Author's Farce* served as a launching pad for the afterpiece of *Tom Thumb* on 24 April 1730. Fielding's afterpiece developed his characterizations of Somebody and Nobody in *The Author's Farce*, employing these two figures as alternative ways of viewing Thumb's grotesque physicality and seditious mentality. Bertelsen explains Fielding's "Somebody" as a corpulent "well-fed, well-heeled carcass, encased in expensive clothes." He contrasts this Somebody with the "underfed" and "underclass," "subversive nonconformist" and "underdog," who "traditionally laughs at hierarchical conventions and imaginatively aggrandizes him/herself." Nobody evades public decorum and self-presentation, "self-defensively" constructing "an inner life immune to denigration by the establishment."[33] The apparent opposition between the "two iconic characters" of authoritative Somebody and subaltern Nobody "is hardly as binary as the above figures imply," Bertelsen argues, "For Bakhtin's contrast of the idealized 'classical' body and the popular grotesque body precisely reverses the class affiliation of their respective characteristics." Fielding's application of "Somebody" and "Nobody" in his Counter-Scriblerian drama obeys a cruel formula. One on hand, he ridicules Pope's disembodied classical ideals and portrays him as hero of a world-turned-upside-down. On the other, he warns audiences against a Scriblerian design that conjoins authority with the grotesque.

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[33] Bertelsen, "*Jubilate Agno*," 363; See also Lockwood, *Henry Fielding: Plays*, n268. Fielding later suggested the threat of "Nothing" to discourses on immaterial subjects such as religion, nationalism, and social nobility. He offers a positive address in which "Nothing" necessarily stands for a "Something" that can be put on trial. The "Essay on Nothing" even depicts its an illustrious history: "the great Antiquity of Nothing is apparent from its being so visible in the Accounts we have of the Beginning of every Nation. This is very plainly to be discovered in the first Pages, and sometimes Books of all general Historians; and indeed, the Study of this important Subject fills up the whole Life of an Antiquary, it being always at the Bottom of his Enquiry, and is commonly at last discovered by him with infinite Labour and Pains"; Fielding, "Essay on Nothing" in *Miscellanies, by Henry Fielding, in three volumes, vol. 1* (London, 1743), 234.

6. Frontispiece, George Duckett, *Pope Alexander's Supremacy and Infallibility Examin'd; and the Errors of Scriblerus and his Man William Detected* (London, 1729).

COUNTER-SCRIBLERIAN DOUBLES: DYNAMIC ABSTRACTION AND THE THUMB-BODY

Fielding's Counter-Scriblerian drama relies on discursive intersections in which the characters of Somebody and Nobody duplicate and mirror one another. *Tom Thumb* and the *Tragedy* echo this discourse of the double body in a genre attentive to concrete embodiment and dynamic abstraction. His material embodiment of a ridiculous hero aligns with a backdrop of critical allusion to Pope's Scriblerian subversions. When he revised his *Tom Thumb* farce into the ambitious text-based performance of the *Tragedy*, Fielding clarified nodes of unresolved tension pertaining to the nature of Thumb's life and death. By developing this important background and adding the critical paratext of Scriblerus Secundus, Fielding's *Tragedy* brings to the foreground a transformative topology, which ascends from crude bodily caricature of Pope to complex re-imaginings and displacements of his Scriblerian 'Thumb-body'. An emblem of deformity and a site of hidden artifice (Thumb-body, alias Pope's body), Fielding's characterization of Tom Thumb captures the rising monsters of Pope's Scriblerian fancy.[34] As masterworks of "Nonsense" literature, Fielding's burlesque dramas laboriously encoded multiple registers of Counter-Scriblerian parody, pairing sublime nonsense with bombastic wit, and displaying a popular and obscure erudition in its re-orientations of Pope's Scriblerian genre.[35] Fielding's intent was not to teach his entire audience the knotty intricacies of

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[34] Brian Massumi's concept of the "biogram" may help us address this topology of Thumb-body as Nobody. Massumi explains the biogram as a "previously experienced vector space" consisting of "component sense-threads [that] could be pulled apart to yield an astounding range of determinate . . . memories that had been woven into them. . . . [Each biogram] is a virtual topological superimposition of a potentially infinite series of self-repetitions." The "*transpositional*" vector of a biogram may be deliberately recalled for the creation of a "topological superfigure," which differs from the flat emblem due to its anamorphic "extraformal stand-out or pop-out effects"; Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2002), 193–94, 186.

[35] For a brief account of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Nonsense writing in England and America, see Hugh Kenner, "Seraphic Glitter: Stevens and Nonsense" in *Historical Fictions* (Athens, GA: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1995), 162–68. For a review of Pope's *Rape of the Lock* as the last fruit on a "dying branch" of neoclassical mock-heroic, see Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman & Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln, NE: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1997), 140.

Pope's Scriblerian method, or to expose and publicize the little known and unpublished Scriblerian archive for indiscriminate perusal. He instead made his audience feel the ridiculousness of Pope to understand the threat of his satire, while also embedding imitations of this genre for readers and audience members prepared to discern them.

In his original two-act farce, *Tom Thumb*, Fielding plants the seeds of flowers that Scriblerus Secundus will cultivate in his revised *Tragedy*. Below, I will focus on the two particular problem areas of Giants and a Cow in these plays in order to isolate Fielding's structures of allusion to Pope's body and Scriblerus's Orientalism. Fielding's original farce opens with two courtiers, Noodle and Doodle, who gossip about a Lilliputian hero, who has led a train of Brobdingnagian Giants into King Arthur's Court. Noodle recounts his witness of a triumphant pageant: "The mighty *Thomas Thumb* victorious comes;/ Millions of Giants crowd his Chariot Wheels" (*T* 387). Thumb has subdued a race of Giants on the borders of Camelot, and Arthur's Court is abuzz with tales of his heroic conquests. Arthur exclaims that the "vast Idea" of Thumbian heroism "fills my Soul." Throughout the play, he aggrandizes Thumb, "Whose Name in *Terra Incognita* in known/ Whose Valour, Wisdom, Virtue make a Noise,/ Great as the Kettle Drums of twenty Armies" (389, 399).[36] Arthur's daughter, Huncamunca, plays the part of Desdemona to this Othello-like charmer, and discovers "a Magick-musick in that Sound."[37] Like Shakespeare's Juliet, Huncamunca longs to legitimate her passion: "*O Tom Thumb! Tom Thumb!* Wherefore art thou *Tom Thumb?*/ Why hadst thou not been

[36] In her account of a 7 April 1777 private performance of *Tom Thumb*, Fanny Burney emphasizes the role of noise, citing the "burlesque . . . foppish *twang*" of Noodle and Doodle's speech, the "immense *hub a drub*, with drums and trumpets and a clarionet" at Tom Thumb's approach (a "racket" of "drums and trumpet"), the "echoed and re-echoed" audience response to her back-stage claps, and a conclusion in "great spirit, all the performers dying, and all the audience laughing"; *The Early Diary of Frances Burney, 1768–1778, vol. 2*, ed. Annie Raine Ellis (London: George Bell and Sons, 1907), 171–79.

[37] Thumb's rival hears this sound while courting her in the *Tragedy*: "Thy pouting Breasts, like Kettle-Drums of Brass/ Beat everlasting loud Alarms of Joy" (568).

born of Royal Blood?" (397). She is unaware of the more disturbing backgrounds, which the Queen rehearses to sooth her burning lust for him. The great Thumb's birth marks him as the lowliest of Nobodies: "When in a Pudding, by his Mother put,/ The bastard, by a Tinker, on a Stile/ Was drop'd" (391). The Queen's contempt turns to anger when Grizzle, a courtier jealous of Thumb and desirous of Huncamunca, questions the veracity of his exploits: "it was all a Trick,/ He made the Giants first, and then he killed them" (392). The unimaginably huge Giants are so insubstantial that they may be confined to the imagination of a minute sorcerer, Tom Thumb. This ironic combination of elevated nonsense and subversive trickery undermines the mythic foundations of Arthur's Court.

Fielding stages Thumb as a magical and foreign intruder, who woos Huncamunca through private mock-pastoral incantations: "Whisper, ye Winds! that *Huncamunca's* mine!/ Ecchoes repeat, that *Huncamunca's* mine!" (390). Noodle and Doodle's opening dialogue portrays Thumb's inner deformity and innate artifice: "They tell me, it is whisper'd in the Books/ Of all our Sages, That this mighty Hero/ (By *Merlin*'s Art begot) has not a Bone/ Within his Skin, but is a Lump of Gristle" (388). Such uncanny whispers accord with a genre of secret satire, which Fielding may have derived from Pope's pseudonymous appeal for a "*News-Letter of Whispers*" in *Spectator* no. 457 (14 August 1712). Pope proposes a paper containing "Pieces of News which are communicated as Secrets, and bring a double pleasure to the Hearer," insofar as they "have always in them a dash of Scandal."[38] The suspicious whispers about Thumb's deformity are borne out in

[38] Pope's two collaborators, "each of them Representative of a Species," furnish "those Whispers which I intend to convey to my Correspondents." "*Peter Hush*," is "descended from the Ancient Family of the Hushes. . . . *Peter Hush* has a whispering Hole in most of the great Coffee-houses about Town. If you are alone with him in a wide Room, he carries you up into the Corner of it, and speaks in your Ear." The "old Lady *Blast*, you must understand, has such a Malignity in her Whisper, that it blights like an Easterly Wind, and withers every Reputation it breaths upon. She has a particular Knack at making private Weddings. . . . She can turn a Visit into an Intrigue, and a distant Salute into an Assignation"; Ault, ed. *Prose Works of Alexander Pope*, 59–62. In the *Tragedy*, Scriblerus Secundus aligns "whispering in books" with an art of literary Nonsense found in the Oriental sublimity of heroic drama. In his review of *Tom Thumb* for the

the action of Fielding's play. Once inside Arthur's Court, Thumb reveals himself as a seditious Nobody, killing a Bailiff and brazenly proclaiming, "perish all the Bailiffs in the Land" (397). In the second act, Arthur enthusiastically fulfills his wish: "Open the Prisons, set the Wretched free" for the "Wedding Day" of "Princess *Huncamunca* and *Tom Thumb*" (403). Arthur's trust in Thumb the Giant-slayer is misplaced, for he is not aware that Merlin has placed a curse on Thumb's future marriage. Noodle witnesses the strange demise of the realm's false guardian, as he leads a crowd of freed prisoners:

> I saw *Tom Thumb* attended by the Mob. . .
>
> When on a sudden through the Streets there came
>
> A Cow, of larger than the usual Size,
>
> And in a Moment, guess, oh! guess the rest,
>
> And in a Moment swallow'd up *Tom Thumb*. (404)

Having already cheated death once, when Grizzle's assassins mistakenly poisoned a costumed monkey instead of him, Thumb's spirit eludes death and reappears in Arthur's Court in the final scene: "*Tom Thumb* I am—but am not eke alive./ My Body's in the Cow, my Ghost is here" (404). Grizzle's murder of Thumb's ghost inspires the series of murders, which annihilates the entire Court after Arthur's suicide and final soliloquy.[39]

Grub Street Journal, John Martyn suggests, "Mr. CURIOSO was wonderfully taken with the art of *whispering in books*, which it seems was known to the *Sages* in K. Arthur's days; an art ingenious as that of painting a sound." This synaesthetic remediation of the whisper from sound to paint demands a technique or a strategy restricting public access and simulating a form of subjective, private address. The phenomenology of anamorphosis and the whisper share structural similarities. See Ronald Paulson and Thomas F. Lockwood, eds. *Henry Fielding: the critical heritage* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 29.

[39] Alfred Inkley recalls Swift's delight with this scene in *Tom Thumb*: "It is said that Swift declared he only laughed twice in his life, and once was at an incident in this burlesque." L.J. Morrisey writes, "Although the Scriblerus Project had long been abandoned by its originators when Fielding took it up in 1730, Pope continued to be interested in it. . . . Pope countenanced the barrage of criticism that *The Grub-Street Journal* began to direct at Fielding after *Tom Thumb*." *The Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 302* (New York: AMS Press, Klaus Reprint Corp, 1967), 346; L.J. Morrisey, ed. *Tom Thumb and the Tragedy of Tragedies* (Berkeley, CA: Univ. of California Press, 1970), 5.

In *The Tragedy of Tragedies*, Fielding's additions and revisions clarify his intent to burlesque Pope and travesty Scriblerian Orientalism. The *Tragedy* also introduces a conspicuous pattern of doubling in its new scenes and revisions. The extended play features Thumb's self-duplication in marriage, the duplicity of Huncamunca, and Thumb's double-rivalry with Grizzle and his own lump of "Gristle." Fielding adds an important line to Noodle's introductory speech, crafting a mock-Miltonic simile that unites Tom Thumb and the Giants as destroyers of London's double guardians, Gog and Magog. This speech connects Thumb to the "two-horned Alexander" who conquers the neighboring people of Gog and Magog in the Qur'an. Scriblerus Secundus's footnotes address these themes of obscure doubling in the *Tragedy*, and his Preface reveals the twofold arts of rising and sinking in the Counter-Scriblerian style: "by being too high or too low for the Understanding, which will comprehend every thing within its Reach. . . . [Our Author] is very rarely within sight through the whole Play, either rising higher than the Eye of your Understanding can soar, or sinking lower than it careth to stoop" (545). In a more specific act of satirical doubling, Scriblerus Secundus attributes the *Tragedy* to two possible authors: "Whilst some publickly affirmed, That no Author could produce so fine a Piece but Mr. *P*[ope], others have with as much Vehemence insisted, That no one could produce any thing so bad, but Mr. *F*[ielding]" (541). With these Counter-Scriblerian dialectics in mind, the following paragraphs will proceed from the indelicate bathos of personal caricature to the sublime style of Orientalist parody in the *Tragedy*.

Let us begin by analyzing Fielding's descent into a personal burlesque of Pope's deformity. The Cow that swallows Thumb likely derives from a well-known rumor related to the reputed cause of Pope's physical disfiguration. In his collection of Popian anecdotes, Joseph Spence records his half-sister Magdalen Rackett's account: "The accident of the cow, was when my brother was about three years old. He was then filling

a little cart with stones. The cow struck at him; carried off his hat and feather with her horns, and flung him down on the heap of stones he had been playing with."[40] While it may appear reductive to link the *Tragedy*'s profound Cow to such a topical source, this reading accords with Fielding's repetitive evocations of similarities between Pope and Thumb. For example, King Arthur boasts of Thumb's reputation: "*Tom Thumb!* Odzooks, my wide extended Realm/ Knows not a Name so glorious as *Tom Thumb*./ Not *Alexander*, in his highest Pride,/ Could boast of greater merits than *Tom Thumb*" (*T* 390). Grizzle invokes the title of Ned Ward's satirical portrait of Pope in *Durgen, or a Plain Satire on a Pompous Satirist* (1729), as he asks Huncamunca: "can my Princess such a Durgen wed,/ One fitter for your Pocket than your Bed!" (568). Likewise, Fielding echoes the opening lines of Aaron Hill's *On the Progress of Wit: A Caveat* ("Tuneful Alexis, on the *Thame's* fair Side/ The Ladies Play-thing, and the Muses Pride") in Mustacha's mockery of "*Tom Thumb the Great*—One properer for a Play-thing, than a husband."[41] Mustacha chastises Huncamunca's affection: "If you had fallen in Love with Something; but to fall in Love with Nothing! . . . He is a perfect Butterfly, a Thing without Substance, and almost without Shadow too" (565). Fielding's parody takes for granted the audience's familiarity with this arena of gossip, linking the tale of Pope's childhood accident with a broader archive of negative personifications.

Fielding's extended *Tragedy* incorporates the monstrous image of the Cow with a subplot involving the prophetic revelation of Merlin's dark arts. Introduced in the Dramatis Personae of the *Tragedy* as "A Conjuror, and in some sort Father to *Tom Thumb*," Merlin identifies himself as "a Conjuror by Trade" before he divulges "the mystick getting of *Tom Thumb*" over the course of his secret visits to an infertile couple

[40] Joseph Spence, *Anecdotes, Observations, and Characters of Books and Men*, 267.
[41] Aaron Hill, *The Progress of Wit: A Caveat* (London, 1730), 15.

in the countryside: "*His Father was a Ploughman plain,/ His Mother milk'd the Cow/ And yet the way to get a Son/ This Couple knew not how*" (*T* 586). Merlin visits Thumb and shows him an image of his second self in a magical glass: "[*Thumb*]: Lost in Amazement's Gulph, my Senses sink;/ See there Glumdulca, see another Me!/ [*Glum*.]: Oh Sight of Horror! see, you are devour'd/ By the expanding Jaws of a red Cow" (587). Glumdulca—the Queen of the Giants, rival to Huncamunca, and lover of Thumb—is both an object of Arthur's ardent passion and a feminized version of Tom Thumb. She serves as one of the several characters (such as Merlin and Grizzle) that absorb displacements of Thumb's unstable identity. In final scene of the *Tragedy*, Thumb asserts a paradoxical and self-contradictory role, both protecting Arthur's realm from the rebellion of his rival, Grizzle (whose severed head he carries into Camelot), and also revealing his second self as a monstrous "Lump of Gristle" who prompts the destruction of Arthur's Court. Not only does Thumb win "two Victories" in one day—triumphing over Giants and Grizzle—but he also gets married. Scriblerus Secundus notes, "Here is a visible Conjunction of two Days in one, by which our Author may . . . have intended an Emblem of a Wedding" (590). In the extended *Tragedy*, the ghost of Thumb's father, "Gaffer *Thumb*," appears to reveal the plot of Grizzle against the state. When Gaffer's prophecy digresses into a mock-rehearsal of the seasonal schema of Pope's pastoral poetry, Arthur grows impatient and runs him through "thro' the Body." This murder prompts Scriblerus Secundus's poignant citation of Dryden's *King Arthur* ("*I have heard something of how two Bodies meet/ But how two Souls join, I know not*"), and his assertion "that 'till the Body of a Spirit be better understood, it will be difficult to understand how it is possible to run him through it" (581). If Arthur had been attentive to the spirit of Thumb's father, he might have learned the back-story of Merlin's duplicitous conjurations, and perceived the duplicity linking the sedition of Grizzle and the machinations of a "lump of Gristle."

In light of Merlin's dark arts, the comic plot of Thumb's marriage is the impetus to the tragic destruction of Arthur's Court. Thumb's marriage undoes Merlin's spell and prompts the re-emergence of his second self (Gristle/Grizzle). The Parson who marries Thumb and Huncamunca foreshadows Thumb's profane doubling in the language of the wedding sacrament: "*Tom Thumb* this Night/ Shall give a Being to a New *Tom Thumb*" (574). Although the Parson emphasizes the responsibility to "live, love, and propagate" with Huncamunca, he also foreshadows the danger of Thumb's propagation: "Another and another still succeeds./ By thousands, and ten thousands they increase,/ Till one continued Maggot fills the rotten Cheese" (575). Upon confirmation of the sacrament, Thumb remarks on the internal division of his identity: "I know not where, nor how, nor what I am,/ I'm so transported, I have lost my self. [*Hunc*.] Forbid it, all ye Stars, for you're so small,/ That were you lost, you'd find your self no more" (574). Foreshadowing the Scriblerian parody of Lockean philosophy in the legal trial of the Double Mistress, Scriblerus Secundus alludes to the implicit thought-experiment that informs these events: "To understand sufficiently the Beauty of this Passage, it will be necessary that we comprehend every Man to contain two Selfs. I shall not attempt to prove this from Philosophy, which the Poets make so plainly evident." Fielding also features a Lindamira-Indamora figure, as Huncamunca attempts to marry both Tom Thumb and his rival, Grizzle. She explains to the latter: "A Maid like me, Heaven form'd at least for two,/ I married him, and now I'll marry you" (576).[42] When Grizzle scoffs at the prospect, Huncamunca translates her "fatal Rashness" into a proverb on "a wild unsettled

[42] Fielding includes a double marriage in *Shamela*, as she explains that Parson Williams "told me the Flesh and the Spirit were two distinct matters, which had not the least relation to each other. . . . As then the Spirit is preferable to the Flesh, so I am preferable to your other husband." In the inset tale of the "Unfortunate Jilt" in *Joseph Andrews,* Fielding contrasts Leonora with "Lindamira, a lady whose discreet and starch carriage, together with a constant attendance at church three times a day, had utterly defeated many malicious attacks on her own reputation"; Fielding, *Joseph Andrews and Shamela*, edited by Martin Battestin (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961), 334, 105.

fool," who desires to sit on two joint-stools at once, "Between 'em both fall Squat upon the Ground" (578). Scriblerus Secundus condemns the impropriety of such "little Aphorisms . . . under the Title of Proverbs," and he wishes "that instead of filling their Pages with the fabulous Theology of the Pagans, our modern Poets would think it worth their while to enrich their works with the Proverbial Sayings of the Ancestors" (577).

Perhaps the most obscure double introduced in the *Tragedy* pertains to the mythic British iconography of Gog and Magog, and to the Orientalist inversion of these giants in Thumb's embodiment as the "two horned Alexander" found in the Qur'an. In the opening dialogue of the *Tragedy*, Fielding includes a mock-Miltonic simile in Doodle's account of the profoundly unimaginable Giants that Thumb leads captive into Camelot: "Giants! to whom the Giants in *Guild-hall*/ Are Infant Dwarfs" (550). In this reference to the statues of Gog and Magog in Guildhall, symbolically displayed as guardians of London in the annual Lord Mayor's Day Parade, Doodle conveys the grotesque height of Thumb's Giants. Doodle depicts Thumb as the conqueror of a race of giants who both recall and dwarf the British Gog and Magog. Although George Sale had not yet released his 1734 translation of the *Koran*, the Scriblerians had already adapted passages from Sura al Kahf [Chapter 18: The Cave]. This chapter portrays a two-horned Alexander, who constructs a wall against Gog and Magog in an act of civilizing conquest. Sale explains:

> *Dhu'lkarnein*] Or, *The two-horned*. The generality of the commentators suppose the person here meant to be *Alexander* the Great, or, as they call him, *Iscander al Rumi*, king of *Persia* and *Greece*; but there are very different opinions as to the reason of his surname. Some think it was given him because he was king of the *East* and of the *West*, or because he had made expeditions to both those extreme parts of the earth.[43]

[43] Abdullah Yusuf Ali cites Alexander the Great's depiction on "coins and statues with horns, as the son of *Jupiter Ammon*." In the fourth book of Pope's *Dunciad*, Mummius boasts, "'Mine, Goddess! mine is all the horned race'/. . . . "Witness great Ammon! by whose horns I swore/ Reply'd soft Annius)." Pope's footnote explains, "Jupiter Ammon is called to witness, as the father of Alexander . . . whose *Horns* they wore on their Medals" (iv.376, 387–88n). Conversely, Adullah Yusuf Ali aligns the savage races of "Yajuj

Fielding's far-flung network of reference quite possibly derives from his familiarity with Scriblerian satires taken from Sura al-Kahf of the Qur'an. For instance, Swift's 1712 satire, "A Wonderful Prophecy," depicts "GOG and MAGOG" as an apocalyptic emblem for the ruffian street gangs plaguing London: the "MOHOCKS" and HAWCUBITES." Swift's narrator turns the nonsense of Gog and Magog into a substantial prophesy corroborated by the rise of these gangs: "both the things that are and the things that are not, are one and the same thing."[44] Pope would later allude to the mythic figure of the two-horned Alexander in the dialogue of Annius and Mummius in book four of the *Dunciad*. Parnell's poem, "The Hermit" (published after his death by Pope), was widely known as an adaptation of the story of Moses and Al-Khedr in Sura al Kahf of the Qur'an. Al-Khedr, a paradoxical guide, chastises Moses's inability to tolerate mystery: "Verily thou canst not bear with me: for how canst thou patiently suffer those things, the knowledge whereof thou dost not comprehend?"[45] Oliver Goldsmith deemed Parnell's Orientalist imitation as paradigmatic of a Scriblerian method of obscurity: "It was the fashion of the wits of the last age to conceal the places whence they took their hints or their subjects."[46]

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and Majuj (Gog and Magog)" with the southward and westward incursions of the "wild tribes of Central Asia which have made inroads on settled kingdoms and empires at various stages of the world's history. . . . These tribes were known vaguely to the Greeks and Romans as 'Scythians'"; Sale, ed., *The Koran* (London, 1734), 246; Yusuf Ali, ed. *The Holy Qur'an* (Elmhurst, NY: Tahrike Tarsile Qur'an, 2008), 755–765. For an account of the sources for the builder of the Great Wall of China in book three of the *Dunciad*, see Robert M. Philmus, *Visions and re-visions: (re)constructing science fiction* (Liverpool: Liverpool Univ. Press, 2005), n.353. See also Jorge Luis Borges, "The Wall and the Books" in *Labyrinths*, edited by Donald A. Yates and James E. Irby, (New York: New Directions, 1962); William Temple, "Upon the Gardens of Epicurus" in *Miscellanea: The Second Part. In Four Essays*, 4th Ed. (London, 1696), 98, 93.

[44] See *The Works of Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's Dublin, Vol. v, Consisting of Miscellanies in Prose by Dr. Swift, Dr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Pope, and Mr. Gay* (London, 1765), 247–50. Thomas Parnell, "The Hermit" in *Poems on Several Occasions* (London, 1737), 163. See also Pope, *An Essay on Man*, i.289–94; For an account of the widespread influence of this story in Neo-Platonic, Jewish, and Islamic traditions, see William Axon, *Memoirs of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, vol. 7* (London, 1882), 153–60; Aylmer Maude, *The Life of Tolstoy: Later Years* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1911), 84.

[45] George Sale, trans. *The Koran* (London, 1734), 245.

[46] *The Works of Oliver Goldsmith in Twelve Volumes, vol.* 7, edited by Peter Cunningham (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1900), 174.

In the footnotes of the *Tragedy*, Scriblerus Secundus assesses the philological and historical problems related to the Giants in the text.[47] For instance, his brilliantly pedantic footnote on "Giants" questions Thumb's origins and suggests that Fielding has either placed Arthur's Court outside Britain or found out an unknown anti-foundational myth:

> It is . . . difficult to guess what Giants here are meant . . . for I have heard of no other sort of Giants in the reign of King *Arthur*. *Petrus Burmanus* makes three *Tom Thumbs*, one whereof he supposes to have been the same Person whom the Greeks call *Hercules*. . . . Another *Tom Thumb* he contends to have been no other than the *Hermes Trismegistus* of the Antients. The third *Tom Thumb* he places under the reign of King *Arthur*, to which this third *Tom Thumb*, says he, the actions of the other two were attributed. . . . But then, says Dr. *B——y*, if we place *Tom Thumb* in the Court of King *Arthur*, it will be proper to place that Court out of *Britain*, where no Giants were ever heard of. *Spencer*, in his *Fairy Queen*, is of another Opinion, where describing *Albion* he says,
>
> *——Far within a salvage Nation dwelt*
>
> *Of hideous Giants*.
>
> And in the same Canto,
>
> *The* Elfar, *who two Brethren Giants had,*
>
> *The one of which had two Heads——*
>
> *The other three*.
>
> Risum Teneatis, Amici. (*T* n550)

Scriblerus Secundus's epigram ("[If you had a private view,] could you keep from laughing, my friends?") holds an anamorphic window up to the subversions of Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism. Within this mirror of Momus, or this knowing nonsense of

[47] Fielding imitates Pope's pseudonymous essay *Guardian* no. 40 (27 April 1713), which parodied Ambrose Philips's pastorals for their depiction of wolves, which Spenser's anti-Catholic Hobbinol metaphorically declares as having already been banished by King Edgar's proclamation. Pope reprinted *Guardian* no. 40 as Appendix V in his *Dunciad Variorum*. See Ault, ed. *Prose Works of Alexander Pope,* 446–47. Butt, ed. 445–50; *The Yale Edition of the Shorter Poems of Edmund Spenser*, edited by William A. Oram (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1989), 157, 163; see also Fielding, *The Vernoniad. Done into English from the Original Greek of Homer. Lately Found in Constantinople* (London, 1741).

Scriblerus Secundus, Fielding glimpses a Double Monster at the heart of Thumb's heroic deeds.[48] As a slayer of Giants, this Thumb-body Nobody dwarfs the icons of Gog and Magog. He co-opts and falsifies a heroic persona to infiltrate Britain's borders, importing the tremendous nonsense of *terra incognita*. Thumb is also a threatening and occult domestic fabrication, insofar as he arises out of the illicit conjurations of Merlin and forges an identity based on a fraud to destroy Arthur's Court. Thumb, a two-horned hero of East and West, embodies a Double Monster bent on ridiculing established authority.

MOMUS'S INTERPOLATION & TOM THUMB'S HELTER-SKELTER WAY OF WRITING

The Orientalist mock-scholarship informing the character of Thumb exaggerates Pope's strategies of Scriblerian obscurity. Pope innovated a mode of creative adaptation based on a hodge-podge of satirical spy literature, mystical philosophy, anthropological anecdotes, and reworked cultural stereotypes. He endeavored to criticize false authority, prejudice, and dogma, but also aspired to synthesize the Scriblerian art of sinking with the fundamental aesthetic practices (and underlying ethical implications) that constituted his own neoclassical archive and Augustan authority. Fielding's Counter-Scriblerian

[48] Howard Weinbrot highlights W.K. Wimsatt Jr.'s role as Glumdulca in Yale's 1953 performance of *Tom Thumb*: "Wimsatt the seven-foot tall blue-mop-headed preeminently high-serious and distinguished scholar-critic wrapped in drapery, and reciting his own 'Epilogue: A Key to Tom Thumb'." In the famous essay he co-authored with M.C. Beardsley, Wimsatt claims, "There is a gross body of life, of sensory and mental experience, which lies behind and in some sense causes every poem, but can never be and need not be known in the verbal and hence intellectual composition which is the poem." In the introduction to *Alexander Pope: Selected Poetry and Prose*, Wimsatt claims, "Pope's poetry is the expression of one kind of experience, the equilibrium, the two-way vision. . . . A situation of superiority in talent and inferiority of privilege [in eighteenth-century Britain] had produced a special way of talking—and perhaps even of seeing—double." The "basic structure" of Pope's parallel figuration relies on "a concentration point where meaning explodes in witty duplicity." He claims, "As for the *ideal* universal, Pope's poetry surely deals for the most part with 'our Mortification . . . the Deformities, and Disproportions which are in us. . . . Pope's career was to make the triumphant best of what was felt in the bones as the idiom of poetry"; Weinbrot, "Papal Fallibility," 38; W.K. Wimsatt and M.C. Beardsley, "The Intentional Fallacy," *The Sewanee Review* 54.3 (1946): 468–88, 480; Wimsatt, ed. *Alexander Pope: Selected Poetry and Prose* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), xxi, xxvii, xxix, xxxi, xlii, xxxv–xxxvi.

satire attempts to expose the deformity and false authority of Pope, but also to identify and burlesque the form and content of its Orientalist imitations. Almost a century after the initial performances of Fielding's *Tragedy*, critics continued to regard the double-identity of Fielding's hero as the two-horned king of East and West. Francis Palgrave's 1819 *Quarterly Review* article, "Antiquities of Nursery Literature," claims:

> Tom Thumb's adventure bears a near analogy to the rite of adoption into the Braminical order, a ceremony which still exists in India, and to which the Rajah of Tanjore submitted not many years ago. In Dubois' work there is an account of a diminuitive deity, whose person and character are analogous to that of Tom Thumb. He too, if I recollect right, was not originally a Bramin, but became one by adoption, like some of the worthies in the Ramayuna. Compare the multiplicity of Tom Thumb's metamorphoses with those of Taliessin as quoted by Davies; we shall then see that this diminutive personage is a slender but distinct thread of communication between the Braminical and Druidical superstitions. . . . his station in the court of King Arthur . . . marks him as a person of the highest fabulous antiquity in this island; while the adventure of the cow, to which there is nothing analogous in Celtic mythology, appears to connect him with India.[49]

As an alternative to this esoteric Orientalist genealogy, Palgrave questions whether Thumb might also have been a mythic Norse-Scythian, '*Thaumlin*' and Tamburlaine:

> Tom Hearne would almost have sworn that Tom Thumb was 'King Edgar's page.' On ballad authority we learn that 'Tam a lyn was a Scottsman born.' Now Tom Hearne and the ballad are both in the wrong; for Tom a lin, otherwise Tamlane, is no other than Tom Thumb himself, who was originally a dwarf, or dwerger, of Scandinavian descent, being the *Thaumlin*, i.e. *Little Thumb* of the Northmen.[50]

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[49] *The Quarterly Review, vol. 21* (London, 1819), n100–1.

[50] *The Quarterly Review, vol. 21*, 100–3. This essay on Hickathrift and Thumb builds on earlier precedents, such as the untraceable labyrinths of Tristram Shandy's private history: "when a man sits down to write a history—though it be but the history of Jack Hickathrift or Tom Thumb, he knows no more than his heels what lets and confounded hindrances he is to meet with in his way, or what a dance he may be led, by one excursion or another, before all is over"; Sterne, *Tristram Shandy,* 61. The duo of Thumb and Hickathrift also appears in Cooke's *Bays Miscellany* (by "Scriblerus Tertius"), where "Comment Profound" claims to have: "restored the ancient Reading of *Jack* the *Giant-Killer* and written a Comment upon *Thomas Hickathrift*"; Cooke, *Bays Miscellany*, 15.

After this mock-derivation of Tom Thumb, the reviewer derives "Tom Hickathrift" from "Runic monuments [which] represent the celebrated hammer or thunderbolt of the son of Odin, which shattered the sculls and scattered the brains of so many luckless giants." While this nineteenth-century assessment of Tom Thumb occurred in the context of a nineteenth-century "Pope Controversy" in which Scriblerian satire was a central concern, it might be read as an imitation of Fielding's Counter-Scriblerian techniques of humorous Orientalist interpolation. The following section will outline Fielding's precedents for this mode of mock-etymology in an archive featuring the personae of Tom Thumb and Momus.

Palgrave declares that his essay's performance of mock-etymology derives in part from the works of William Wagstaffe, "whose name is so analogous to his humour." J.T. Hillhouse and Helen Sard Hughes have argued that William Wagstaffe's *A Comment upon the History of Tom Thumb* likely provided Fielding with the idea for his hero.[51] In 1711, this anonymous prose work satirized the nationalist anxiety that led Addison to "f[ind] out a hero in his own country" in his essays on the popular ballad "Chevy Chace" in *Spectator* no. 70 & 74.[52] The narrator of the *Comment* recounts his discovery of a mysterious manuscript: "It was my good Fortune some time ago to have the Library of a School-Boy committed to my Charge, where, among other undiscover'd valuable Authors, I pitched upon *Tom Thumb* and *Tom Hickathrift*, Authors indeed more proper to adorn the Shelves of *Bodley* or the *Vatican*."[53] Despite thorough study, he cannot

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[51] James T. Hillhouse, ed., *The Tragedy of Tragedies; or, the Life and Death of Tom Thumb the Great* (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 1918); Helen Sard Hughes, "Fielding's Indebtedness to James Ralph," *Modern Philology* 20.1 (1922), 19–34.

[52] *The Spectator* (London, 1712–1715), 397–405; 421–27, 400.

[53] Anon., *A Comment upon the History of Tom Thumb* (London, 1711), 4. In the appendix to his 1857 life of Pope, Robert Carruthers prints James Moore Smith's forged letters by Pope, signed "Alexis." One particular letter to Martha Blount links him to the context of *Tom Thumb*: "Charming Zephalinda. . . . I must give you a caution when you go to London of sending me no more farthing histories of Tom Thumb

ascertain the origins of this text: "I have took indefatiguable Pains to consult all the *Manuscripts* in *Europe* concerning this Matter, and I find it an *Interpolation*. I have also an *Arabick Copy* by me, which I got a *Friend* to translate, being unacquainted with the Language, and it is plain by the Translation, that 'tis there also *interpolated*."[54] The author speculates on literary evidence of Thumb's character, asserting the "Author of *A Tale of a Tub*" believes he "was a *Pythagorean* Philosopher, and held *Metempsychosis*; and Others that he had read *Ovid's Metamorphosis*, and was the first Person that ever found out the Philosopher's Stone."[55] The reprinting of the *Comment* in the posthumous literary debut of William Wagstaffe—a physician who was not known as a satirist during his lifetime—is suggestive of links to the Scriblerus Club, especially since Wagstaffe's 1726 *Miscellaneous Works* preceded Pope and Swift's publication of the initial volumes of the *Miscellanies* (1727). Contemporaries perceived thematic and textual connections between the Scriblerian and Wagstaffian archive, and Pope entertains the possibility in the Appendix to his *Dunciad Variorum*.[56] Wagstaffe's miscellany, furthermore, features the character of a witch named Mother Haggy, who not only resembles the character of

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in a budget, or new ballads of unfortunate lovers to the tune of Chevy Chace"; *The Life of Alexander Pope, including extracts from his correspondence* 2nd Ed. (London, 1857), 439.

[54] *A Comment upon the History of Tom Thumb*, 15.

[55] Ibid., 5–6.

[56] John Dennis accused Pope of forging several of Wagstaffe's works, while Walter Scott attributed others to Swift and Arbuthnot. Wagstaffe's satire on Robert Walpole, *Some Memoirs of the Life of Charity Hush*, furthermore, borrows the surname of the editor of the "*News-Letter of Whispers*" projected by Pope in 1713. In 1712, Swift denied Lady Masham's accusation of his authorship of *St. Alban's Ghost, or the apparition of Mother Haggy, collected from the best manuscripts*. In the same year, *A Complete KEY* grouped "*the Story of St. Alban's Ghost*" with Arbuthnot's "*Three Parts of Law is a Bottomless Pit*." John Hawkesworth, ed. *Letters written by the late Jonathan Swift, vol. 1*, 2 vols. (London, 1766), 81. For arguments against Scriblerian authorship of Wagstaffian works, see J.V. Guerinot, *Pamphlet Attacks on Alexander Pope, 1711–1744* (London: Methuen & Co., 1969), 2; Vinton A. Dearing, "Jonathan Swift or William Wagstaffe?," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 7 (1953): 1–21. In the "Testimonies of Authors" preceding Pope's *Dunciad*, Scriblerus explains the charge that "[Pope] wrote a pamphlet called 'Dr. Andrew Tripe;' which proved to be one of Dr. Wagstaffe's. Mr. THEOBALD assures us . . . 'That the treatise of the *Profound* is very dull, and that Pope is the author of it'. . . . Here, gentle reader! cannot I but smile at the strange blindness and positiveness of men; knowing the said treatise to appertain to none other but me, Martinus Scriblerus."

Pope's Goddess Dulness, but who also boasts the miraculous powers of whitewashing a "*Blackamoor*" and expiating "Hay's stain," which she reveals in book four. Counter-Scriblerian satirists such as Fielding, Christopher Smart, and William Hogarth would borrow this trope of a whitewash capable of effecting conversions of Somebody into Nobody and vice-versa.[57] While Scriblerus's footnotes to the fourth book of the *Dunciad* will associate Dulness's whitewash with interpolations of a fragmentary manuscript, this occult mock-etymology also emerges in a Grub Street response to Fielding's *Tom Thumb*.

In 1730, the same year Fielding released the two-act farce *Tom Thumb* at the Hay-Market Theatre, the pseudonymous author "Tom Thumb" published a treatise on a technique of satirical interpolation associated with the secret satire of Momus. Thumb's *Helter-Skelter Way of Writing: or, A New Method in Criticism. Very awkwardly imitating the HENLEIAN MANNER; with several Words to the Wise, the Very Wise, and the Wisest of All* is almost an exact reproduction of an anonymous prose piece, entitled *Royal Remarks: or, the Indian King's Observations on the most Fashionable Follies* (1710). The *Royal Remarks* featured the interpolation of "a *Bundle* of *Papers*" found after the visit of "King

[57] Just prior to the conclusion of the *Dunciad*, Dulness and a "priest, succinct in amice white," endeavor to "Wash Bladen white, and expiate Hay's stain." Scriblerus writes, "The manuscript here is partly obliterated, and doubtless could only have been *Wash Blackmoors white*, alluding to a known Proverb" (iv.560). Mother Haggy of *St. Alban's Ghost* also "had a Wash, that would make the Skin of a Black-a-moor as white as Alabaster, and another, that would restore the loss of a Maidenhead, without *any hindrance of Business, or the knowledge of any one about them*." On the satirical persona of Orator Henley and the irreverent "duncean culinary/religious transformation" of the "Priest succinct in amice white," see Bertelsen, *Henry Fielding at Work,* 125–26. In the "Prologue to Mrs. Mary Midnight's Oratory"—a 1752 poem attributed to Christopher Smart—this is a metaphor for Grubean alchemy: "To drag the grub-worm from it's inmost hole,/ And bleach the blackness of a negroe soul;/ This is our task—And if we should succeed,/ 'Twill be a Herculean feat indeed." In *Shamela*, Fielding depicts Samuel Richardson as an author who "*can make black white*, it seems" (337). John Ireland's *Hogarth Illustrated* (2nd Ed. 1793) analyzes "The Man of Taste": "Mr. Pope, in the character of a plasterer, . . . white-washing the front [of his entrance to Twickenham], and whirling his brush with a spirit that produces a shower of liquid pearl, which dismays and defiles the passengers beneath. . . . among whom is a Blackamoor in the way of being white-washed"; Williamson, Karina, ed. *The Poetical Works of Christopher Smart: Vol. IV, Miscellaneous Poems English and Latin* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 389; *The Miscellaneous Works of Dr. William Wagstaffe* (London, 1726) 62; Desiderius Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly and other Writings*, ed. Robert M. Adams (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1989), 8; John Ireland, *Hogarth Illustrated*, 2nd Ed. (London, 1793), 275.

Ouka" and his diplomats. These papers have been "*translated*, and contain abundance of very *odd Observations*; which I find this little Fraternity of *Kings* made during their Stay in the *Isle* of *Great Britain*." The epigraph to *Royal Remarks* derives the tale from *Spectator* no. 50—an issue that Swift told Stella was "made of a noble hint I gave [Steele] long ago for his Tatlers, about an *Indian* supposed to write his *travels* to *England*. I repent he ever had it. I intended to have written a book on that subject. I believe he has spent it all in one paper, and all the under-hints there are mine too; but I never see him, or *Addison*."[58] When *Royal Remarks* re-emerged as Thumb's *Helter-Skelter Way of Writing*, it was preceded by an Advertisement to two non-existent works. The first work suggests a burlesque pairing of the Virgin Mary and Wagstaffe's Mother Haggy: "The Forced Virgin; or the Unnatural Mother. A true Secret History/—*How strange a riddle Virtue is!*" The other pertains to Pope's war with the dunces, being "An Answer to Mr. *Pope*'s Preface to *Shakespeare*" and a "Right reading of the *Dunciad Variorum* from a Manuscript (revised and collated by this Author) which is *interpolated* by the last Editor." The title page describes *Helter-Skelter* as "a few unaccountable Reflections, Chymically endeavouring to extract SOMETHING out of NOTHING."[59] Written "By TOM THUMB, Secretary, lately arriv'd from the *Cape of Good Hope*," the text includes "(according to the polite Stile of Scribbling)" a learned demonstration of "TOM THUMB'S Touch upon the Hard Word, ETYMOLOGY."

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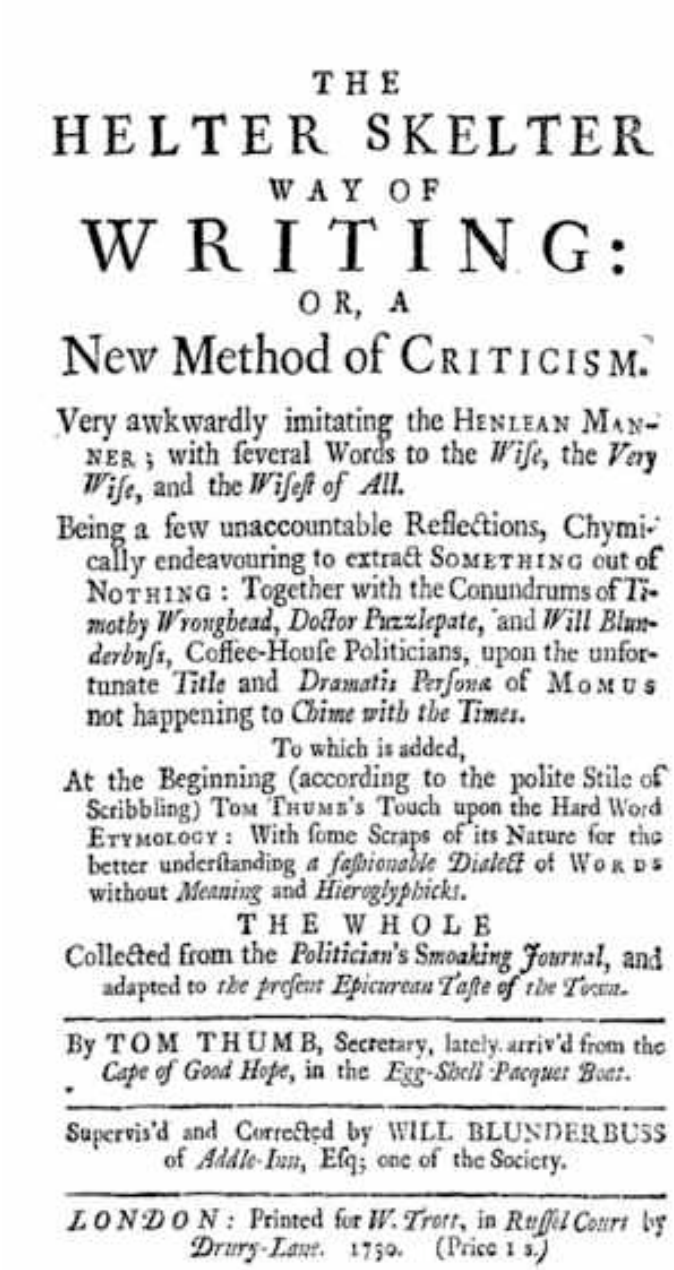
[58] Walter Scott explains, "The idea of writing in the character of a foreigner has since been adopted in the *Lettres Persannes*, and many imitations of that lively work. There can be no doubt the plan would have suited Swift's ironical run of humour"; Scott, ed. *The Works of Jonathan Swift: Journal to Stella* (Edinburgh, 1814), 242.

[59] The editor of the *Royal Remarks* explains King Ouka's manuscript as a revelation of the mantra of a medieval Yorkshire witch, known as Mother Shipton: "*Some Men are safer in stealing a Horse,/ Than Others in looking over a Hedge./* Mother Shipton's Prophecy./ How the *Royal Indian* came to fix on this *old England Proverb* I cannot pretend to say, therefore I shall proceed to the Remarks." *Royal Remarks, Or the Indian King's Observations On the most Fashionable Follies: Now reigning in the Kingdom of Great Britain* (London, 1710), 2.



THE
HELTER SKELTER
WAY OF
WRITING:
OR, A
New Method of CRITICISM.

Very awkwardly imitating the HENLEAN MANNER; with several Words to the *Wise*, the *Very Wise*, and the *Wisest of All.*

Being a few unaccountable Reflections, Chymically endeavouring to extract SOMETHING out of NOTHING: Together with the Conundrums of *Timothy Wronghead*, *Doctor Puzzlepate*, and *Will Blunderbuss*, Coffee-House Politicians, upon the unfortunate *Title* and *Dramatis Personæ* of MOMUS not happening to *Chime with the Times.*

To which is added,

At the Beginning (according to the polite Stile of Scribbling) TOM THUMB's Touch upon the Hard Word ETYMOLOGY: With some Scraps of its Nature for the better understanding *a fashionable Dialect* of WORDS without *Meaning* and *Hieroglyphicks.*

THE WHOLE

Collected from the *Politician's Smoaking Journal*, and adapted to *the present Epicurean Taste of the Town.*

By TOM THUMB, Secretary, lately arriv'd from the *Cape of Good Hope*, in the *Egg-Shell Packquet Boat.*

Supervis'd and Corrected by WILL BLUNDERBUSS of *Addle-Inn*, Esq; one of the Society.

LONDON: Printed for *W. Trott*, in *Russel Court* by *Drury-Lane*. 1730. (Price 1 s.)

7. Frontispiece, *The Helter Skelter Way of Writing* (London, 1730).

In both *Helter Skelter* and *Royal Remarks*, the narrator recounts his meeting with the facetious club of Timothy Wronghead, Doctor Puzzlepate, and Will Blunderbuss, "closely assembled in Triple Alliance at Sir *Martin Mar-all*'s great Publick House near *Crack-Brain Alley*."[60] The club practices a mock-etymology learned during their captivity within a "*Metamorphosing House*" in the "*Hay-Market*." Wronghead recounts this story:

> we were . . . hurried away to a *Metamorphosing House* in the *Hay-Market*. . . . [the *Gad-dem-ye-sirs*] turn'd us loose out of our Knowledge, among a *Herd of Hieroglyphical Beasts*. . . . we conjectur'd our selves for some Time no otherways than in a *Trance*. On one side of the place seeing a number of *Pyramids* adorn'd with *Hieroglyphical Figures*, we verily thought our selves in *Aegypt*. (*HS* 21)

The club learns to profit from their Hay-Market captivity when Puzzlepate translates each "Notion in the Hieroglyphical Way: That the Pyramids, and other Matters. . . . seem'd to him *an Emblematical Figure* of the good Things set upon the *Altar* of Baal" (23). The narrator wonders at these operations of the club's newfound hieroglyphic etymology:

> WHAT in the Name of Wonder the *Antediluvian Gentry*, or the *old Hunxes* their Descendents, meant by transmitting to Posterity the *Hieroglyphics*, and such cursed hard Words, for as *Etymology* and the like, I cannot tell: Unless they did it by way of setting us either a Greek-Riddle, or *Cantab*. *Pun*,[61] with Explanations much more difficult to construe, than the Riddle or Pun itself. Telling us at the same Time, that whoever could understand what was not to be understood, would be enabled in the Twinkling of a Bed-staff, to unravel the Mystery of Mysteries, the Derivation of Derivations, for the speedy resolving of all Cramboes, rooting the meaning from their most obscure Caverns. (2–3)

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[60] *The Helter Skelter Way of Writing* (London, 1730), 12; *Royal Remarks; or, The Indian King's Observations on the most Fashionable Follies* (London, 1710). Further references cited *HS*.

[61] The "Crambo" to which the narrator refers further recalls the name of Scriblerus's childhood schoolmate in the *Memoirs*. *A Dream of Dreams. . . With Notes by Martinus Scriblerus* explains: "The little Actions of Illustrious Persons are deservedly the objects of public attention; and if a CANTAB happens to dream, (so rare the chance) how cruel would it be not to reveal it!---This thought occasioned the following attempt, which only aims at a faithful translation of the sense, without aspiring to imitate the elegance of the Original; and, by taking off the cloud of a dead language, to shew the English reader the exalted ideas and conceptions of a Dreaming Cantab"; *A Dream of Dreams: of, Somnium Academici Cantabrigiensis: Translated. Dedicated to the Drones and Dreamers of Both the Universities. With Notes by Martinus Scriblerus* (London, 1768), iii.

The narrator tests the club's "*new-fangled Method of Speech, without any Meaning*, other than what one was pleas'd to put on it" (30), imploring that "they would assist the Weakness of my Intellects, in giving me their Judgment and Thoughts upon the *Etymology* of what I believ'd was an old Word, call'd MOMUS, newly brought upon the Stage" (28). He produces a manuscript with "*nothing in it*," except the "*Title* and *Dramatis Personae* of MOMUS," hoping they "might be a Means of bringing to Light, that seem'd at present in Darkness to my shallow Comprehension, and which I did not doubt but the *Cruciples of their Brains* would certainly effect" (32). While the narrator introduces Momus as "A NEW THING" (34), Wronghead translates his character into "*a new painted Rattle* . . . by way of *Hieroglyphic Reflection* upon the Audience." Momus's followers "will *bid Defiance to the most noble Circle* to call them into any Account," and "neither *Compose themselves* . . . nor oblige the World with Knowledge of their Persons, yet in the midst of the greatest Assemblies, with an amazing and undaunted *Assurance*, they'll make nothing to set the whole *Audience in an Uproar*, and under the Shelter of their Obscurity" (40–41). The narrator approves this strategy of mock-etymology: "*As Seeds of* Nonsence *suit all Climes*/ *The* Wrongheads *may be Right sometimes*" (*HS* 55).[62]

Whereas Pope developed the trope of Momus's window in the breast in his letters, poetry and pseudonymous prose, the *Royal Remarks* popularized the premise of Momus's

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[62] The "Person of Quality" who wrote *The Wrongheads* was not so generous:
Lo! these the toils thy inspiration own,
Inventive folly, these thy deeds alone.
Reason in vain directs the guiding rule,
And arts but polish to compleat the fool.
The miser's wants, the atheist's impious scheme,
The pedant's taste, the spendthrift's golden dream;
Such are the gifts these fruitful springs impart,
An empty head, and a corrupted heart:
But these are only part; a num'rous train,
Inverted rules, mistaken schemes remain.
See *The Wrongheads: A Poem Inscrib'd to Mr. Pope* (London, 1733), 12.

invention of mock-etymology and secretive satire. The manuscript fragment in *Royal Remarks*, "MOMUS turn'd *Fabulist*, or *Vulcan's* WEDDING, an *Opera*" (33), prompted Louis Fuzelier's 1719 stage farce, *Momus Fabuliste, ou les nôces de Vulcain*. Only one year prior to Fielding's *Tom Thumb*, Ebenezer Forrest translated and adapted Fuzelier's farce in his *Momus Turn'd Fabulist: or, Vulcan's Wedding, an Opera* (1729). Forrest portrays Momus's discovery of secret styles of satire after Jupiter bans him from ridicule:

> But *Jupiter* only forbids me talking Satyrically——he allows me to think. Let us think then——how the dickens shall one bring out ones Thoughts without speaking?——Umph. I have it. A new contrivance——lucky and convenient——I'll invent Fables——I'll mention none of the Gods by Name, but will borrow for them the Names of Men, or Beasts, 'tis all the same thing.[63]

Momus's mockery of the gods decides the disfigured Vulcan's victory in a contest for Venus's hand in marriage. In his *Praise of Folly*, Erasmus had lamented the relative infrequency of Momus's appearance in modern courts and Christian synods, yet he also resists a thorough explanation of Momus's tricks, obeying the "counsel of Harpocrates [the god of silence], lest some snoopy god overhear me telling about matters that weren't safe even for Momus to mention."[64] Pope's adoptions of Momus miniaturized and democratized his strategy of mockery. Instead of lampooning the secret deformity of the gods, he imagined Momus as the peddler of a magical window or mirror, which discovers hypocritical designs cloaked by modern manners. As the next section will show, the character of Momus attained prominence in a Counter-Scriblerian genre that developed out of Fielding's burlesques. The section addresses Cambridge's *Scribleriad*, a poem in which Momus frames a window into the corruptions of Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism.

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[63] Ebenezer Forrest, *Momus Turn'd Fabulist: or, Vulcan's Wedding, an Opera* (London, 1729), 8.
[64] Desiderius Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly*, ed. Robert M. Adams, 17.

COUNTER-SCRIBLERIAN ORIENTALISM: MOMUS AND *THE SCRIBLERIAD*

Both Weinbrot and Marshall have likened Cambridge's "success-oriented" Scriblerian satire to that of Fielding. The proponent of a "subdued form of subdued satire," Cambridge is an "examplar of civility who hopes to aid society and the poet by blunting satire's barbs."[65] Cambridge's satire is distinct among the many pseudo-Scriblerian imitations of the *Dunciad* (what Richard Bond describes as a progeny of "–iads")[66] for its focus on the *Memoirs* and critical engagement with Pope's neoclassicism. In the same year Warburton removed the "Double Mistress" chapters from his posthumous edition of Pope, Cambridge's *Scribleriad* (1751) provided a sequel to the unfinished *Memoirs*. Cambridge parodies the Orientalist satire of the *Memoirs* in his depiction of Scriblerus's wanderings in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Near East, and his self-condemnation at the Hermetic Academy in Munster, Germany. Cambridge's *Scribleriad* subsumes the *Memoirs* in a neoclassical framework predicated on Momus's comic efforts to enact Saturn's vengeance on Scriblerus, who has plundered the long-lost rarities buried in the Sahara Desert. Momus halts Saturn's vengeance, convincing him to allow Scriblerus to succumb to a series of grotesque errors and comic abuses before his fated death. By showing the subversions of Scriblerian Orientalism, Momus functions as the ambivalently moral guide, who reveals what is wrong with Scriblerus. Despite his poem's indulgence in Scriblerus's whims, Cambridge restrains from the overt personal mockery of Pope that is characteristic of Fielding's *Tom Thumb* and *Tragedy*. At the same time, however, he also reveals an internal topology of Scriblerian perversion in Pope's grotto, corresponding to the outer topology of Scriblerus's Orientalist enthusiasm.

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[65] Howard Weinbrot, *Eighteenth-Century Satire: Essays on Text and Context from Dryden to Peter Pindar* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998), 195–96.

[66] See Richard Bond, "-iad: A Progeny of the Dunciad" *PMLA* 44.4 (1929): 1099–1105.

John Aikin's *England Describ'd* (1818) places Cambridge alongside Pope in the Twickenham landscape, although the two poets lived there at different times and never met one another.[67] Richard D. Altick attributes their secondhand acquaintance to Cambridge's assistance in supplying a "large quantity" of mineral mundic for Pope's grotto at Twickenham. Cambridge supplied this mineral mundic at the request of their mutual friends, Ralph Allen and Thomas Edwards, yet he did not support the "rage for exoticism in gardening" inspired by Pope's grotto. Altick claims, "Cambridge was one of the leading opponents of the pseudo-barbarism in architecture and landscape design whose growing popularity was one of the most conspicuous signs of the decline of the Augustan ideal."[68] Cambridge's *Scribleriad* recreates the monstrosity of Pope's grotto, where phantoms of Lindamira-Indamora and Ebn-Hai Paw-Waw plague Scriblerus's second marriage. While he associated Scriblerian satire with the exotic arts of Pope's grotto, Cambridge's Preface declares a doctrinal adherence to the aesthetic and cultural ideology of Augustan neoclassicism. In his 1799 poem, *The Shade of Alexander Pope on the Banks of the Thames*, the anti-Jacobin satirist, Thomas Mathias, depicted "Esq. Cambridge" as "a distinguished veteran in literature and the polite arts. His poem entitled *The Scribleriad* is a work of great fancy, just composition, and poetical elegance; but above all, of mature judgment and conspicuous throughout. It should be read as well for

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[67] In 1751, Cambridge relocated from his family estate in Gloucester to a new home in the neighborhood of Twickenham At Twickenham, Cambridge hosted such figures as Edward Gibbon, James Boswell, and Samuel Johnson. Not only was he an acquaintance of Johnson's circle, but he also commissioned the well-known engraving in which the Doctor's ghost chastises Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. John Aikin depicts "*Twickenham*, a village on the Thames, [which] has become famous on several accounts. Here was the house rendered celebrated as the last and favorite habitation of Alexander Pope . . . .Nor far distant is the villa of the late Richard Owen Cambridge, Esq., a gentleman celebrated for his elegant literary productions in the sportive kind"; Aikin, *England Describ'd: being a concise delineation of every county in England and Wales* (London, 1818), 347.

[68] Richard Altick, *Richard Owen Cambridge: Belated Augustan* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1941), 16.

instruction, as amusement. The preface is entitled to much attention."[69] The Preface to Cambridge's poem outlines the rationale and method of his genre of grave burlesque.

In the Preface to his *Scribleriad*, Cambridge argues that Pope verged on a breakthrough in his inversions of neoclassical proprieties in *Rape of the Lock* and the *Dunciad*. In his turn to "personal satire" and "epigrammatic wit," however, Pope wasted the potential to convey orthodox moral satire and compromised the efficacy of his art: "I have always thought that [Pope and Boileau] did not come up to the true idea of a Mock-Heroic poem. I take it for granted, nobody believes that the primary design of either of these Poets was to write a Mock-Heroic. . . . the attempt of the Mock-Heroic was only their secondary view."[70] Cambridge articulates a theory of the Mock-Heroic genre, in which a fundamental axiom is to "imitate the True Heroic" as closely as possible:

> The more particulars it copies from [the True Heroic], the more perfect it will be. By the same rule it should admit as few things as possible, which are not of the cast and colour of the ancient Heroic poems. The more of these it admits, the more imperfect it will be. It should, throughout, be serious, because the originals are serious; therefore the author should never be seen to laugh, but constantly wear that grave irony, which *Cervantes* only has inviolably preserv'd. An author may be very deficient in the observation of these Rules, and yet he may write a very pleasing, tho' it cannot be called a perfect Mock-Heroic poem. It will please many readers, tho' it can have no other support than here and there a Parody of some known passages of an esteem'd Author. (v)

Cambridge denies that his *Scribleriad* attempts "a Parody of some known passages of an esteem'd Author," for the poem instead aspires to a transcendent ideal based on the "True Heroic." Cambridge does not alert readers to his unmarked imitations of the Double Mistress chapters, and he falsely claims to have attempted no allusions to Scriblerus's

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[69] Thomas Mathias, *The Shade of Alexander Pope on the Banks of the Thames* (London, 1799), 21.

[70] Richard Owen Cambridge, *The Scribleriad: An Heroic Poem in six books* (London, 1751), vi–vii. Further references cited by book, line number. Citations from preface by page number.

Memoirs.[71] Cambridge explains that he is crafting a new style of neoclassical imitation based on the systematic burlesque of a pedant who inverts such rules. While he hopes to inspire pleasure through a sustained ironic adherence to form, he also intends to evoke pain through deliberate violations of propriety and decorum. In his preface to the *Scribleriad*, Cambridge instructs readers to search for moral lessons in the deformities and nonsense of his poem: "It may be proper to add a few hints for readers as are not very conversant with burlesque writings. In the versification they will find now and then a mock dignity and solemnity affected, the emptiness of which may be passed over by an hasty reader, but will appear to a very slight examination" (xiv–xv). He urges a pedantic dullness, asking readers to study his poem's self-reflexive representations: "By Irony is generally understood the saying of one thing and meaning another. Then how shall it be known whether a burlesque writer means the thing he says, or another? This is only to be found by attention and a comparison of passages."[72] Through such textual analysis, the reader might engage with a grotesque and immoral Scriblerian genre in order to laugh and scoff at its eccentricities. In particular, Cambridge asked readers to attend to his imitations of Pope's neoclassical model and his burlesques of the Scriblerian imagination.

Since Pope did not achieve this didactic purity or refined aesthetic irony in his Scriblerian works, Cambridge has completed his unfinished *Memoirs* to demonstrate how

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[71] Fielding remarked in the Preface to *Joseph Andrews*: "burlesque itself may sometimes be admitted. . . [in] places not necessary to point out to the classical reader, for whose entertainment those parodies or burlesque imitations are chiefly calculated"; Henry Fielding, *Joseph Andrews and Shamela*, ed. Martin Battestin (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961), 8–9. The character of Parson Adams (an hobbyist or amateur in Orientalist learning) is especially interesting for his proximity to the Scriblerian bathos. See Slip-slop and Adams's "Oriental tongues," Adams's Orientalist enthusiasm in the meeting of Mr. Barnabas and the bookseller, his debate with a merchant on the geography of the East, his being tested by a clergyman on knowledge of Pope and Homer's *Margites*, and his response to Joseph's speech on Pope's "Man of Ross." See Fielding's characterization of a "Christian" Lindamira and "*Myhummetan*" Leonora in "The Unfortunate Jilt." Also, see the narrator's comparison of oriental tales to "the modern novel" in book three.

[72] According to Helen Deutsch, this "*trompe l'oeil*" aesthetic of comparison permitted a "voluntary enjoyment of deceit" to viewers confident of their "power to determine the form of an accident" in the "merging of mimesis and creation"; Deutsch, *Resemblance and Disgrace*, 114–16.

this might have been done: "[the *Memoirs*] furnished me with a hint for a subject, and principally with an Hero. . . . I considered that taking up a character which had already been explained, would be a great advantage in an Epic Poem, which . . . should always hasten into the midst of things" (vii). Cambridge's burlesque reveals the anti-hero's trajectory of error and frames it as a vector of falsehood and immorality: "If we trace [Scriblerus] book by book, we shall find him, in the first, an enthusiastic admirer of the ancients." He then "appears in the light of an antiquary" and "Next of a pedant . . . wherein he prides himself in shewing what Pope calls// ——*all such reading as was never read*. . . . After this he is seen in no other throughout the whole work as an Alchymist" (xi). Cambridge dismisses the presence of any scandal over the Double Mistress ("And what objection to the character of Scriblerus?"), but he also ensures readers that he has diligently avoided any imitations beyond the general idea of the hero:

> These thoughts, together with the remembrance of the classics, were fresh in my mind, when Pope first published the Memoirs of Scriblerus; an admirable design, undertaken by many of the greatest wits of the last age, but dropt in the very beginning. . . . I undertook to continue their design by taking up Scriblerus where they left him, and consequently cannot interfere with any one action which they have described: and I have taken care, in order to keep it still more separate from theirs, to make no allusion to the Memoirs, of any consequence, but merely such as give a handle to quote them in the notes, and thereby, as it were accidentally, refer the reader to them . . . as I chose rather that he should get an idea of this enthusiastic character from a work already printed, than to repeat the description and clog my book with it. (vii–viii)

Cambridge's claim to "make no allusion to the Memoirs" is false, since he invokes the Double Mistress love triangle in the "Cave of Rumour" where Scriblerus succumbs to a second failed marriage to Plica Polonica. These scenes function as Momus's window showing Pope's grotto at Twickenham—the site where Cambridge superimposes an image of the Double Mistress on a topology of Pope's exotic fancy and hidden deformity.

Cambridge delivers Scriblerus into Pope's grotto after a series of mock-heroic adventures that follow his banishment from Britain. After Martinus Scriblerus of the *Memoirs* sets sail for Jamaica, a storm blows his vessel far southeast and past the Cape of Good Hope, where he is stranded on the island of primitive poetry. Upon encountering the native crambos, riddles, rebuses, rondeaus, rhopalics, quibbles, antitheses, fustian bombastics, doggerel rhymes, and echoes, Scriblerus inexplicably shoots an arrow and slays a flying acrostic ("COWARD"). He flees the curse of this crime, and sails to the nearby island of rumor. There, he learns of its Queen, Plica Polonica: a dabbler in mystic arts, whose name derives from the grotesque tuft of interwoven hair that, "so platted together, grows to a surprising length, which is not to be prevented, by reason that it is not mortal to cut it, a great effusion of blood always ensuing" (iii.n83). This curious monster compels Scriblerus's memory and desire. After charming her with curious tales, Scriblerus breaks off their engagement on account of his nightmares in her grotto:

> Here glitt'ring ores their native charms unfold;
> There yellow mundick shines like burnish'd gold. . . .
> But how, O! how shall Fancy's pow'r recall
> The forms that breath'd along the pictur'd wall! . . .
> While thus my Soul these empty shades possest,
> What sudden pangs invade my heedless breast!
> When, in blest shells of livliest hue pourtray'd
> I saw fair *Lindamira*'s form display'd: . . .
> Oft rose fair *Lindamira*'s frowning shade:
> My purpose oft with boding voice forbad. . . .
> With her, my swarthy Rival blast my sight,

And casts a blacker horror on the night.[73]

Many of Cambridge's readers would have recognized the scene of Scriblerus's nightmare as Pope's grotto at Twickenham—an exotic underground theatre, where a camera obscura projected images of nature onto the "glittering ore" of a "pictur'd wall" inside. Cambridge adds a backdrop of Scriblerian phantasmagoria to this surreal and enchanted space, borrowing from the Double Mistress chapters of the *Memoirs* as well as from the more obscure discourses of the "two-horned Alexander." In Scriblerus's nightmare, Plica Polonica both displaces Lindamira-Indamora and re-enacts his cuckolding by Ebn-Hai Paw-Waw: "Stern she approach'd, and, with contemptuous look,/ The horn opprobrious from her forehead took/ And fix'd on mine: when, sudden o'er my head,/ Portentious growth! luxuriant antlers spread" (iii.229–32). Cambridge foreshadows this two-horned Scriblerus in the prophetic image of "Ammon's boasted horn," displayed on the brainstone wall of the grotto, "so called, from the resemblance its surface bears to the human brain" (n.iii.54). By disembodying these artificial images of the Double Mistress and two-horned Alexander through the virtual mechanism of a camera-obscura image projected onto the grotto's wall (a virtual image that does not "clog" his poem), Cambridge represents the grotto as a topological inscape representing Pope's deformity.

Among the many holographic and synaesthetic effects famously associated with Pope's grotto, the most famous was the camera obscura, which projected an artificial picture of the outside natural scene onto the inner walls, where the image reflected in mirrors, shimmered in glittering minerals, and pulsed with the reflections from running water below. Deutsch depicts the grotto as a topological metaphor representing Pope's "private devotion to a classical tradition" and his "singular recreation of natural wonders as a collection of curiosities." She ironically doubles this couplet of form and deformity,

[73] Cambridge, *The Scribleriad*, iii.45–46, 55–56, 71–74, 219–20, 223–24.

however, in her assertion that the "grotto is both a fragmented classical ruin and a self-contained Scriblerian whole, depending, like the *trompe l'oeil*, on the reader's perspective."[74] As an inner topology, the grotto serves as a metaphor for Pope's private devotion to a fragmented ruin and his singular recreation of a self-contained whole. This double topology of deformed neoclassicism and Scriblerian selfhood provides the *Scribleriad* with a creative and performative space wherein to conflate the dangers of Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism. In his mock-heroic depiction of Scriblerus's travels in the East, Cambridge focalizes a serious didactic burlesque through the figure of Momus.

The frontispiece of the *Scribleriad* represents the descent of Momus from the cloud of Saturn, which initiates his series of wanderings in pursuit of the philosopher's stone. The "Explanation of the Frontispiece" explains the central image of the poem:

> The Satyr in the Frontispiece represents Comic Poetry, who having overthrown the Sphinx or False Science, ignominiously leads her in triumph, and makes sport with those Problems and Aenigmas, with which she tortur'd and distracted the minds of men. By the Fable of the Sphinx may be understood Pedantry, or that Learned Arrogance, which, by the affectation of Mystery and Riddles, imposes on the understandings of Mankind.

The frontispiece of the *Scribleriad* mirrors plate six of Hogarth's *The Rake's Progress*. Whereas Hogarth's wayward protagonist invokes a plume of smoke that gathers near the ceiling of a gaming tavern, in the frontispiece to the *Scribleriad* the muse directs Scriblerus upwards to a light of Momus streaking down from the dark clouds of Saturn. With his right hand, Scriblerus grasps a pyre of burning idols and papal relics. With his left hand, he flashes an ominous sign that stands out before a caravan of dervishes who gaze upon the miraculous descent of Momus. In 1803 (four years prior to Baroness Howe's destruction of Pope's Twickenham gardens and grotto), Cambridge's son

[74] Deutsch, *Resemblance and Disgrace*, 125–27.

8. Momus descends from Saturn's Cloud. Frontispiece, Richard Cambridge Owen, *The Scribleriad: An Heroic Poem in Six Books* (London, 1751).

reprinted the *Scribleriad* in his collected works with a new frontispiece, in which a demonic faun leads the donkey of the *Dunciad Variorum* down a dark wooded path, guiding its attention to a scroll upon which he squares the circle. Instead of bearing a load of books, as in Pope's *Dunciad Variorum* frontispiece, this donkey bears the slain figure of a centaur-seraph. This 1803 frontispiece emphasizes Cambridge's dual construction of Momus as both anti-authoritarian satirist and moral window to Scriblerian perversity.

9. Frontispiece, *The Scribleriad*. In George Owen Cambridge, ed. *The Works of Richard Owen Cambridge, Esq*. (London, 1803).

After departing the isle of rumor and the grot of echoes, Scriblerus resumes his antiquarian search after rarities in the Sahara desert, seeking the ancient city of Sodom and Gomorrah. He offends Saturn, however, with his plunder of long-forgotten rarities: "Torn from my arms, a daring traitor bears/ The labours of a thousand anxious years./ Loaded with these, his sacrilegious bands,/From eldest *Egypt*, trace the *Libyan* sands" (i.54–4). After Saturn buries the petrified city in a dust storm, Scriblerus defiantly boasts his existential transcendence of the world: "Let vulgar Souls for doubtful life contend;/ Be mine the boast of an Heroic End" (i.181). Upon hearing this boast, Momus intercedes for the preservation of Scriblerus's life. The frontispiece of the *Scribleriad* depicts this pivotal scene in which Momus descends from Olympus to serve as a guide to Scriblerus:

> This *Momus* heard, and from *Olympus's* height,
> To distant *Libya* wing'd his rapid flight.
> Sudden he joins the rash *Scriblerus'* side,
> While good *Albertus'* form the God belied.
> Instant, behold! the Guardian Pow'r commands
> A spark to issue from the blazing brands;
> Which fell, directed, on the Sage's Head,
> And sudden flames around his Temple spread. (i.181–90)

In the initial descent of Momus, Cambridge introduces a series of representations in which he couples the physical abuse of Scriblerus's head with satirical descriptions of the fiery inspiration of "his Temple." After assuming the shape of Albertus, Momus confers a mock-heroic blessing upon Scriblerus: "The Gods declare, that thy illustrious Head,/ Such effluent Glory shall around thee shed,/ As, wide dispensing its eternal Rays,/ Shall fill th'enlightened Nations with Amaze" (i.201–4). As Scriblerus's "illustrious Head" is

set ablaze with "effluent Glory," Momus/Albertus prophesies that his principles will lead "enlightened Nations" into a maze of confusion. After he first visits Scriblerus in the Sahara Desert, Momus then guides him to Cairo and takes on the new disguise of the Morosoph—a "heav'n taught Prophet" of "sage *Mahometans*" who pay "honours to the Fool and Mad" (iv.365–70). Scriblerus recounts his meeting with the Morosoph, who doses him with opium and beats him about the head. Scriblerus explains that the Morosoph's "turgid eye-balls roll'd an hideous glare. . . . Then, wildly starting, danc'd with frantic bounds,/ Whirling his rapid head in giddy rounds:/ . . . . Full on my temples gave this goary wound" (v.46–50; 56). After this attack on Scriblerus's temples, Momus (or the Morosoph) compels his further adventures in pursuit of the philosopher's stone.

The Morosoph tells Scriblerus that he must assume the garb of a desert wanderer and travel into the Arabian Peninsula, where he will obtain his sought-after philosopher's stone. The Morosoph encourages Scriblerus to transport this discovery to the Hermetic Academy in Munster, and he declares Scriblerus's fate as the resuscitator of antiquarian learning in Europe: "Bid ev'ry long-lost *Gothic* art revive. . . . Be yours the task, industrious, to recal/ The lost inscription to the ruin'd wall;/ Each *Celtic* character explain; or shew/ How *Britons* ate a thousand years ago. . . . A sudden radiance of celestial light/ Shall guide thy footsteps, and direct thy sight" (v.88–9; 101–4; 161–62). The Morosoph's allusion to a "sudden radiance of celestial light" echoes Albertus's reference to an "effluent glory" spread about Scriblerus's head. His appeal to Scriblerus's antiquarian translation both parodies Aeneas's study of the scenes of the Trojan War on the walls of Carthage, and it also repeats the previous image of the Double Mistress on the walls of Plica Polonica's cave. In fifth and sixth books of the *Scribleriad*, Scriblerus finds the philosopher's stone in Arabia and carries it to Munster. There, he encounters Momus once again—this time in the person of Doctor Faustus's grandson: a butterfly

catcher and member of the Hermetic Academy. Faustus's grandson invites Scriblerus into the Academy, where he unveils the Philosopher's Stone in a crazed manner reminiscent of the Morosoph's enthusiasm: "Thus he by figurative signs exprest/ The truths that roll'd tumultuous in his breast" (vi.148–49). Cambridge holds Momus's window to Scriblerus's "breast" and footnotes the significance of his mania: "The *Arabians*, who first treated of Alchymy, deliver'd their precepts in hieroglyphics, and figurative expression" (vi.n148). Hoping to reveal his Orientalist discoveries to a European audience, Scriblerus desires to kill a member of the academy, so that he can then revive him with the philosopher's stone. A facetious debate ensues that parodies the legal trial over Scriblerus's double marriage to Lindamira-Indamora in the *Memoirs*. The Hermetic Academy's lawyers determine that Scriblerus must be tried for murder even if his design succeeds. It is therefore decided he will perform his revivifying experiment on the body of a slain cow.

Whereas Fielding's Counter-Scriblerian burlesque envisioned the incorporation of Tom Thumb's body with that of a monstrous cow (in a parody of the childhood accident reputed to be the origin of Pope's deformity), Cambridge dresses the cow in the garb of Egyptian "APIS" and performs a mock-occult ritual in which Scriblerus becomes the transcendent emblem of the Hermetic Academy. In the final scene of the *Scribleriad*, Scriblerus's attempt to revivify the cow goes horribly awry when his philosopher's stone is revealed to be a current of electricity that travels from the body of a bloody cow to the experimental apparatus that surrounds Scriblerus. The current of electricity moves from the cow to the structure, and sparks a fire that rises from Scriblerus's feet to his temples:

> th'Adepts a mystic structure made;
> And in the midst the great *Scriblerus* laid

In naked majesty,[75] tremendous sight!

Then haste to execute the solemn rite. . . .

Then at the Heroe's feet began to play

A flame more brilliant than the solar ray.

The golden beams ascending now embrac'd

Th'illustrious sage, and circled round his waist.

Now fixt, and by encreas'd effluvia fed,

Diffus'd a Glory from his awful Head.

Thus as he darts around electric fire,

To vocal hymns they tune the sounding lyre;

His high Atchievements in their songs relate,

And hail him Monarch of th'Hermetic State.

Such Honors *Munster* to her Heroe paid;

And lambent flames around his temples play'd. (vi.324–27, 350–361).

This immolation of Scriblerus's temples in the final lines of the poem completes the sequence of images associated with Momus's actions in disguise as Albertus and the Morosoph. Instead of protecting Scriblerus, Momus has saved him from suicide only to enable the descent into Orientalist alchemy that results in his demise at the Hermetic Academy. Momus's design accomplishes the objectives Cambridge states in the Preface and Frontispiece, insofar as it shows the consequences of apostasy and false pedantry. The "mystick structure" of the final scene serves as a concrete emblem of Cambridge's

[75] See book two of Pope's *Dunciad*: "In naked majesty great Dennis stands,/ And, Milo-like, surveys his arms and hands/ The sighing thus, "And am I now threescore?/ Ah why, ye Gods, should two and two make four?/ He said, and climb'd a stranded Lighter's height,/ Shot to the black abyss, and plung'd down-right" (ii.271–76).

structure of didactic burlesque. By displaying the scandalous Double Mistress in Plica Polonica's grotto of rumor, and by purging the dangerous influence of Scriblerus in the Hermetic Academy, Cambridge reifies an idealized form of Augustan neoclassicism. While his unmarked allusions implicitly chastise Pope's exotic artifice in the grotto and parody the Orientalist aesthetic of his Scriblerian satire, Cambridge also suggests that the poet could not have privately supported the immoral subversions of Martinus Scriblerus.

COUNTER-SCRIBLERIAN DUPLICITY AND THE PAPER WAR OF 1752–1753

In the watershed year of 1751, Warburton removed the Double Mistress chapters from his posthumous edition of Pope, and Cambridge concluded his *Scribleriad* with a postscript assuring that "Our Hero is most happily secure from one dangerous quarter; for such has been his extraordinary continency, that no lady can, with the least show of probability, introduce him to act a part in her memoirs" (237). Despite Cambridge's assurances, the commercial authors of Grub Street were beginning to find new ways to appropriate, personify, and transform the obscurity of Pope's Dulness. Whereas Fielding's performances attempted to critique Pope's Scriblerian satire while also adopting its techniques, the success of his ambivalent Counter-Scriblerian genre facilitated further imitations by authors who borrowed Fielding's esoteric Grubean tactics without any aspiration to expose Pope's faults. The character of Momus thus precedes the neutral nonsense of Mary Midnight—the persona of dark female Dulness, which Christopher Smart crafted in his periodical, *The Midwife* (1750–1753) and transferred to irreverent stage performances that skirted Licensing Laws by billing themselves as the

(Helter-Skelter) "Oratory" in the manner of John Henley.[76] Unlike the didactic methods of Cambridge, such creative imitations of Scriblerian subversion entail dangers implicit in Counter-Scriblerian performances that endow the dunce with an irreverent public body. When divorced from imperatives of censure, Fielding's Counter-Scriblerian mode furnished a platform for embracing and extending the excesses of Pope's original project.

Just as Warburton's censorship and Cambridge's stigmatization of the Double Mistress aimed to preserve and rehabilitate Pope's image as a disembodied Augustan, these new embodiments of Scriblerian obscurity infiltrated the Grubean stage and page. Bertelsen summarizes the Grub Street contexts of a "Paper War of 1752–1753," which followed John Hill's revelation of Fielding's proposal that "they fake a paper war." Bertelsen outlines the cast of participants in this Paper War, "including Christopher Smart, Bonnell Thornton, William Kenrick, Arthur Murphy, Tobias Smollett, among others."[77] If Fielding's rivals in the controversy found it difficult to accept his new official role as Bow Street magistrate and moral author of *Amelia* (1751), they were further convinced of his falsehood when he became immersed in a tabloid scandal over Elizabeth Canning's kidnapping by "an Old Gipsy Woman," Mary Squires.[78] This

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[76] These performances, complete with the repetitive intonations of kettle-drums and the duncean drag of a mock-mystical persona, suggest Momus's "*new painted Rattle . . .* by way of *Hieroglyphic Reflection* upon the Audience," which Tom Thumb interpolates in *Helter-Skelter Way of Writing . . . Very awkwardly imitating the HENLEIAN MANNER*. My interpretation of Pope's Scriblerian persona reconciles two approaches, one of which suggests Smart aligned himself with the Scriblerians to parody the dunces and the other of which claims he embraced Pope's negative portrayal of a feminine Dulness. By documenting Pope's sympathy for Scriblerian obscurity, we view the continuities between Smart's early career as an aspiring Latin translator of Pope and his later efforts in the Bathos. See Bertelsen, "Jubilate Agno," 357–61; Daniel J. Ennis, "Christopher Smart's Cat Revisited: 'Jubilate Agno' and the 'Ars Poetica' Tradition," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 65.1 (2000): 1–23, 3–6; Chris Mounsey, *Christopher Smart: Clown of God* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated Univ. Press, 2001), 43–64; cf. Min Wild, *Christopher Smart and Satire: 'Mary Midnight' and the Midwife* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008).

[77] Lance Bertelsen, "'Neutral Nonsense, neither False nor True': Christopher Smart and the Paper War(s) of 1752–53," in *Christopher Smart and the Enlightenment*, ed. Clement Hawes (New York: St. Martin's, 1999), 135–152.

[78] On January 1, 1753, Elizabeth Canning was supposedly kidnapped and transported to the "Hay-loft" of Susannah Wells and "an Old Gipsy Woman" named Mary Squires. Bertelsen notes the "extraordinary

pretended moralist, they argued, combined an intemperate faith in Grub Street fantasy with an illiberal catering to the prejudice that fueled contemporary xenophobia.[79] Such a bias informed the divisive Counter-Scriblerian rhetoric of Fielding's *Jacobite's Journal*:

> When a Man deviates pretty much in his Tenets from the general Road of Thinking, it is common for such of his Adversaries as are too polite, to call him either a Fool or a mad Man. . . . What was the ancient Theology . . . but so many Systems of errant Nonsense? And lastly, what is the Alcoran . . . but a Heap of Nonsense from the Beginning to the End? . . . Superficial Learning is indeed worse than none at all, and serves only to darken and confound the Understanding; for, as Mr. *Pope* rightly observes, */ A Little Learning is a dangerous Thing*.[80]

Even after Pope's death, Fielding had maintained Counter-Scriblerian satire as a means of mocking perceived enemies to public morality and common sense. In *Covent Garden Journal* no. 40, he condemns Scriblerus's *Peri Bathous* as an aid for those who pursue "uncommon and curious Matter" in "Secrecy."[81] As rivals identified the malignity of

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combination of literary symbolism and alleged events" in Canning's account: "[She] begins her journey into history from a street that would immediately have been recognized by all Londoners as a site associated with crime and poverty, and by literate Londoners as Pope's symbolic site of bad or mad literature. . . . That is, she followed the exact route of Pope's imagination . . . in *The Dunciad in Four Books* (1743). . . . Elizabeth Canning lived in, walked through, was attacked at, and eventually returned to the symbolic matrix of urban madness and fantastic literature"; Bertelsen, *Henry Fielding at Work*, 116–17.

[79] Canning's story also contains unbelievable evidence of a physical and complexional change, which also occurs in the *Memoirs* (if we read it as a cyclic tale that ends in the Introduction, and not an incomplete fragment); See *The Arguments on Both Sides of the Question in the Intricate Affair of Elizabeth Canning* (London, 1753), 5; *Canning's Magazine: Or, A Review of the Whole Evidence that has been hitherto offered for, or against Elizabeth Canning and Mary Squires* (London, 1753), 25–26. Bertelsen explains: "By early 1753 England was in the early stages of what would become a xenophobic frenzy (with accompanying riots) over the passage of the Jewish naturalization Act or 'Jew Bill.' Jews and gypsies were linked in the popular consciousness, and the anti-Jewish sentiment generated by the Jew Bill spilled over into representations of the old gypsy woman. . . . As witch, smuggler, gypsy, and Jew-by-association, Mary Squires seemed the physical, racial, and occupational manifestation of everything socially chaotic, antiproperty, and non-English in England—as the writer for the *Gazetteer* put it, a person '*traditionally* and *hereditarily* versed in *Egyptian* Cunning'"; Bertelsen, *Henry Fielding at Work*, 111.

[80] Henry Fielding, *The Jacobite's Journal, and Related Writings,* ed. W.B. Coley (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1975), 162–64.

[81] Henry Fielding, *The Covent-Garden Journal and A Plan of the Universal Register-Office*, ed. Bertrand Goldgar (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan Univ., 1988), 230. Fielding denigrated the Robinhood debating society as another incarnation of the obscure Tom Thumb: "the only People now upon Earth, among whose Ancestors I can suppose such an Assembly to have been held, are the Inhabitants of a certain Tract of Land in Africa, bordering on the Cape of Good Hope, commonly known by the Name of HOTTENTOTS." Fielding

Fielding's Counter-Scriblerian authority, the Paper War of 1752–1753 featured a cast of characters that included Tom Thumb, Momus, Scriblerus and the Goddess Dulness.

One rival of Fielding and Smart, William Kenrick, conflated Scriblerian and Counter-Scriblerian allusions in his suppressed drama, *Fun: A Parodi-tragi-comical Satire* (1752). The play represents Fielding entering a pact with Macbeth's witches, who boil "the Body of *Tom Thumb*" in "the Broth of *Dulness*" to bring about an alteration of the sexes and to promote him to a position as moral and literary censor.[82] Prior to this scandalous libel, Kenrick targeted Fielding's Grubean cohort in the *Old Woman's Dunciad, by Margelina Scribelinda Macularia* (1751). Smart had originally declared his intention to write such a poem, but he abandoned this plan when Kenrick's *Old Woman's Dunciad* beat him to publication. Richmond P. Bond describes the three layers of poetry, imitation, and annotation in Kenrick's burlesque: "the regular text is in the most extravagant Miltonics, greatly Latinized and in many places hardly intelligible; underneath the text the 'Interpretation' lucidly repeats in Hudibrastic couplets the matter of the text; at the foot of the page burlesque prose annotations discuss the text."[83] Kenrick cites *An Essay on Criticism* as his model in composing "*Such labour'd Nothings, in so strange a Stile/ Amaze th'Unlearned, and make the learned smile*," and he explicitly asserts, "Our judicious and learned Author, Mrs. *Midnight* seems . . . to give us an Instance, that she knows what she is about, by this Imitation of the great Satyrist Mr.

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offers a ludicrous mock-etymology: "the Name of Robinhood puts the Matter beyond all doubt of Question; this Word being, as a learned Etymologist . . . clearly derived from the *Tower of Babel*: for first *Robin* and *Bobin* are allowed to be the same Word; the first Syllable then is Bob, change o into a, which is only the Metathesis of one Vowel for another, and you have Bab, then supply the Termination el instead of ing . . . and you have clearly the Word Babel"; Henry Fielding, *The Covent-Garden Journal*, 68.

[82] William Kentrick, *Fun: A Parodi-tragi-comical Satire* (London, 1752), 4.

[83] Richmond P. Bond, "A Triple Burlesque," *Modern Language Notes* 43.5 (1928): 312–14, 312–13.

Pope."[84] Kenrick opens the poem with an address to Fielding in the style of Pope's *Dunciad*: "O thou, whatever Title to thine Ear,/ Whether *Tom Jones*, *Joe Andrews*, or what not,/ Sound pleasing: thou to my aspiring Song,/ Indulgent smile" (3). His poem further mocks Smart as an accomplice of the Goddess Dulness: "Late witty, *Smart*, he laugh'd and sung. . . . Then *Dullness* shew'd, in Hour accurs'd,/ Within her Leaden Hand a Crust;/ More pow'rful o'er the hungry Stomach. . . . [than] eastern Tal'sman or strange Scrawls/ On the learn'd Fortune-teller's Walls!" (15). The poem displays this succubus witch trafficking with Smart and other Grubean hacks, whom Kenrick portrays as "The' Egyptian Tribe," "The wandering Gypsies," "Our eastern *Bramin*," "Our Eastern venerable *Bramin*," and "the *Bramin of Grubstreet* or the *Bramin of Pall-Mall*."[85] The poem takes place in a "Cavern of *Cimmerian* gloom," where these modern poets degrade the legacy Pope's neoclassicism by adopting a nonsensical Scriblerian style. The poem's heroine declares herself a proponent of "modern Verse," and she concludes by boasting of her invulnerability to satire: "If 'tis to let loose,/ The Storm of *Momus*, I can bear it all ['if . . . to be laugh'd at be its Merit,/ Laugh and be pox'd, for I can bear it']" (28). Insofar as Kenrick's heroine laughs in the face of rivals, she acknowledges Counter-Scriblerian satire as a compromised mode that indulges the Scriblerian aesthetic it claims to criticize.

In *The Hilliad* (1753)—the "loudest broadside" in the Paper War—Christopher Smart adapted Kenrick's pseudonym ("Margelina Scribelinda Macularia") in his editor,

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[84] William Kenrick, *The Old Woman's Dunciad* (London, 1751), n3, n23. In *The Connoisseur* no. 27 (1 August 1754), George Colman and Bonnell Thornton adopts these same lines to express the nonsensical style: "Those who are employed in what they call abstract speculations most commonly have recourse to this method. Their dissertations are naturally expected to illustrate and explain, but this is sometimes a task above their abilities; and when they have led the reader into a maze, from which they cannot deliver him, they very wisely bewilder him the more. This is the case with those profound writers who have treated concerning the essence of matter, who talk very gravely of cuppeity, tableity, tallow-chandleity, and twenty other things with as much sound and as little signification. Of these we may very well say with the poet, *Such labour'd nothings in so strange a stile,/ Amaze th'unlearn'd, and make the learned smile*. POPE"; Colman and Thornton, *The Connoisseur, vol. i*, (London, 1755), 158.

[85] Kenrick, *Old Woman's Dunciad*, 9, 26.

"Martinus Macularius."[86] In a prefatory letter to the *Hilliad*, Smart invokes the model of Pope's *Dunciad*: "In the first heat of my poetic fury, I formed the idea of another DUNCIAD, which I intended to call after the name of my hero [John Hill], THE HILLIAD."[87] The first couplets of the poem call upon Momus "to convert his hero to jest" and "assist the poet's grand design,/ Who aims at triumph by no common ways,/ But on the stem of dullness grafts the bays" (i.n1–6). The arch-dunce, "HILLARIO," arises to power by charming a "tawny Sybil," who "Decoy'd the 'prentices and maiden throng." She praises Hillario: "Thou grand dictator of each publick show,/ Wit, moralist, quack, harlequin, and beau,/ Survey man's vice, self-prais'd and self-prefer'd,/ And be th' INSPECTOR of th' infected herd" (i.55–58). Hillario soon departs the Sybil and gains a new train of allies:

> Pert Petulance, the first attracts his eye,
>
> And drowsy Dulness slowly saunters by,
>
> With Malice old, and Scandal ever new,
>
> And neutral Nonsense, neither false nor true.
>
> Infernal Falsehood next approach'd the band
>
> With * * * and the koran in her hand (i.81–86).

Hillario's emergence as an anti-hero coincides with "omens, prodigies, and portents" that teach him to discern the "ecstatic transports" of a Scriblerian method "he smelt and saw, and felt and found" (i.136–37). After the emergence of the anti-hero, the *Hilliad* portrays a council of the gods called by the Goddess Dulness. Although Venus, Athena, and Apollo disagree about Hillario's merits, Momus's concluding speech settles the debate:

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[86] Bertelsen, "Neutral Nonsense, neither false nor true," 144.

[87] Williamson, ed., *Christopher Smart, Vol. iv*, 215–16, 218–20. Further references to the *Hilliad* cited by line number.

Momus, last of all, in merry mood

As moderator in the assembly stood.

'Ye laughter-loving pow'rs, ye Gods of mirth,

What not regard my deputy on earth?

Whose chymic skill turns brass to gold with ease,

And out of Cibber forges Socrates?

Whose genius makes consistencies to sight,

And forms a union betwixt wrong and right?'

This speech of Momus draws upon lines in Pope's *Essay on Man*, which consider how "Extremes in nature equal ends produce . . . and oft so mix, the diff'rence is too nice/ Where ends the virtue, or begins the vice" (ii.205–10). Although Pope argues that vice, "to be hated, needs but to be seen," he contends that foreign virtues are often interpreted as vices, while familiar vices may be mistaken for virtues: "Yet seen to oft, familiar with her face,/ We first endure, then pity, then embrace" (ii.219–20). As Momus "forms a union betwixt wrong and right," Smart unifies John Hill's challenge to Fielding with Hillario's "neutral Nonsense, neither false nor true." While Hill sought to undermine Fielding's integrity as a journalist and magistrate, Smart portrays his ironic contribution to a Grub Street Paper War defined by its commercial excess and moral ambivalence.

Like Scriblerus's *Memoirs*, Smart's *Hilliad* breaks off at the conclusion of the first volume. Smart's final footnote to the first volume of the *Hilliad* parodies the Advertisement at the end of the first volume of Scriblerus's *Memoirs*. It also foreshadows a sequel seemingly based on H. Scriblerus Secundus's methods of "being too high or too

low for the Understanding."[88] Smart's footnote attempts to combine Pope's Scriblerian obscurity with H. Scriblerus Secundus's modes of extravagant and nonsensical burlesque:

> *Conclusion*] And now, candid reader, MARTINUS MACULARIUS hath attended thee throughout the first book of this most delectable poem. As it is not improbable that those will be inquisitive after the particulars relating to this thy commentator. He here gives the notice that he is preparing for the press, Memoirs of MARTINUS MACULARIUS, with his travels by sea and land, together with his flights aerial and descents subterraneous.[89]

While further volumes of the *Memoirs* would have detailed Scriblerus's travels to the East, Smart's continuation would have introduced the global travels and the "flights aerial and descents subterraneous" of his editor, Martinus Macularius. Smart seems to allude to H. Scriblerus Secundus's design of "either rising higher than the Eye of your Understanding can soar, or sinking lower than it careth to stoop." Although Smart's first allusion to the *Memoirs* appears in this concluding footnote, it is significant in relation to the poem's fundamental imitation of Pope's *Dunciad*.[90] Smart introduces the *Hilliad* as an attempt to put "a speedy stop to that inundation of nonsense and immorality with which [John Hill] has overwhelmed the nation." This pose seems ironic, given that Hill had already criticized Smart as a Grub Street hack and accused Fielding of conspiring to use his literary and legal authority to spread enthusiastic fictions.[91] Smart is ambivalent to

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[88] Smart's parodies an "Advertisement" appended to the *Memoirs*' final pages: "There will be publish'd with all convenient speed, The SECOND BOOK of these MEMOIRS, Being the TRAVELS of *M. SCRIBLERUS*, Vindicated to their True Author. AND the THIRD BOOK never before publish'd, Containing his Journey thro' the Desarts of *Nubia* to the Court of *Aethiopia*: His Friendship with the Bishop of *Apamaea*, and their joint Voyage upon *Cunturs*, to *China*; with an account of all the *hidden Doctrines* of Religion, and the *refined Policy* of those Empires. With these Travels will be intermix'd at proper intervals, the *Journal* of a High and Mighty Prince, styled in his own Country *Son of the Morning, Lord of the Air and Fire*, and *Elder than all the Kings of the Earth*; who hath long travel'd, and is yet travelling *Incognito*, thro all the Courts of Europe" (*MS* 172).

[89] Williamson, ed., *Christopher Smart, vol. iv*, 259.

[90] Smart's *Hilliad* concludes, "So long in flat stupidity's extreme,/ Shall H-ll th' ARCH DUNCE remain o'er every dunce supreme"; Williamson, ed., *The Poetical Works of Christopher Smart*, 259.

[91] Arthur Murphy contributed to Smart's annotations for the *Hilliad*, and he likely wrote this prefatory letter from "a friend at the University of Cambridge."

the Scriblerian and Counter-Scriblerian modes, and he ironically represents his *Hilliad* as susceptible to reframing in a future "SMARTEAD."[92] While mocking Hill and Kenrick as promulgators of nonsense, Smart also revels in his own inventions in a fertile and popular genre of Scriblerian satire. Among the many imitators of Scriblerian satire from Fielding to Cambridge, Smart demonstrates a characteristic affinity toward Pope's tropes of Grub Street. Unlike Fielding and Cambridge, Smart declares his explicit aim to adapt Pope's *Dunciad* (like William Dodd's *New Dunciad* and Kenrick's *Old Woman's Dunciad*). Whereas "success-oriented" imitators distinguished themselves from Pope's Scriblerian mode, Smart embraced it as a precedent for a self-conscious, experimental, and obscure aesthetics.[93] In his hybridization of Scriblerian and Counter-Scriblerian modes,[94] Smart

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[92] In Venus's allusion to Hillario's "black self," a footnote by "JOHN DENNIS, Junior" criticizes the *Hilliad*: "There is neither morality, nor integrity, nor unity, nor universality in this poem.—The author of it is SMART; I hope to see a SMARTEAD published" (i.n193). If this footnote exemplifies Smart's performative proliferation of Scriblerian satire, it also shows his sympathy for a mode that derives from Pope. In an adjacent note, "QUINBUS FLESTRIN" explains, "Venus here talks of [Hillario's] black self, which makes it suspected that she reconciled herself to this hue, out of compliment to Vulcan" (i.n192). In this apparent compliment to Pope and allusion to "MOMUS turn'd *Fabulist*, or *Vulcan's* WEDDING," Smart exemplifies an affinity for Pope's obscure Scriblerian aesthetics. In his "Prolegomena to the *Hilliad*," Smart distinguishes himself as a Grub Street alternative to the "superior love of mischief" characteristic of Fielding's "monkey genius." Smart compares himself to the "ass," for he is "laborious," "dull," "indefatiguable," and "empty": "Stranger to the caprice of genius, he knows none of its risings or its fall; but he wears a ridiculous comicalness of aspect, that makes people smile when they see him at a distance"; Williamson, ed., *Poetical Works of Christopher Smart*, 223.

[93] Denise Gigante not only depicts Smart as revolutionizing Newtonian science in a new expressive and experimental poetics, but she depicts him as an obscure mystic at odds with Grub Street commercialism. Smart's erudite participation in the Paper War shows his trajectory from Scriblerian imitations to a provocative poetry, which aspired to transcend the limitations of rationalist Enlightenment discourses and elude the constraints of mechanical forms in a "commercial industry motivated by money. . . . the power structure that had him locked up for madness"; Gigante, *Life: Organic Form and Romanticism* (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 2009), 61.

[94] In his 1752 poem, "Epithalamium," Smart represents Apollo's inability to convey the sublime idea of his bride: "Her charms thy genius' force shall fly,/ And by no soft persuasive sounds be brib'd/ To come within INVENTION's narrow eye;/ But all indignant shun its grasp, and scorn to be describ'd." Smart imagines how Pope might convey the "Egregious nymph": "And may the Lord with thee,/ Like two coeval pines in Ida's grove,/ That interweave their verdant arms in love,/ Each mutual office cheerfully perform,/ And share alike the sunshine, and the storm;/ And ever, as you flourish hand in hand. . . . Together with each growing year arise,/ Indissolubly link'd, and climb at last the skies"; Williamson, ed., *The Poetical Works of Christopher Smart*, 199–200.

differs from the authoritative mid-century critics and editors who determined Pope's legacy. The following chapter details the censorship of his Scriblerian archive and the suppression of its design. I argue that, alongside this anxious and unfavorable reception, the persona of Scriblerus persisted as a stigma for unconventional, provocative pedantry.

Chapter 3: The Open Secret of Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism, 1751–1797

Moyra Haslett provides the most optimistic assessment of the Scriblerus Club's influence on eighteenth-century literature: "Of the formal literary groups, the Scriblerians are certainly the most significant. Their interaction fostered writings and publications that are now central to our ideas of eighteenth-century literary culture."[1] Haslett claims that the "appeal" of this collaboration was "obvious" to eighteenth-century imitators, yet she neglects two significant details pertaining to the Scriblerians' impact on eighteenth-century British literature. First, William Warburton censored the Club's magnum opus in his posthumous edition of Pope. Therefore, while imitators may have been aware of the Scriblerians' collaboration, the most important passages of Scriblerus's *Memoirs* were removed from public visibility. Second, the manuscript volume containing the most thorough account of Pope's Scriblerian design did not emerge in print until the apex of a nineteenth-century "Pope Controversy." These two instances of suppression seem to complicate Haslett's contention that the Scriblerus Club provided a dominant model for literary sociability in the rational public sphere of the British Enlightenment.[2] This

[1] Moyra Haslett interprets Scriblerus as a "many-selved . . . inverted image of his creators and a mirror of the medley form of *Memoirs* themselves"; Haslett, *Pope to Burney, 1714–1779: Scriblerians to Bluestockings* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 35.

[2] The stakes of Haslett's argument are significant, since she distinguishes the Scriblerus Club as a paradigm for a literary sociability integral to structural transformation of the "public sphere." Jürgen Habermas describes urban culture and print as loose forums "in which the private people . . . come together to form a public," readying themselves "to compel public authority to legitimate itself before public opinion. The *publicum* developed into the public, the *subjectum* into the [reasoning] subject, the receiver of regulations from above into the ruling authorities' adversary"; Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger & Frederick Laurence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 25–26. Haslett contends that Habermas's sphere of communicative rationality "partakes of both public and private spheres," given that people "at home . . . were not necessarily in a 'private' sphere. Only if they were alone might they be so defined." This definition reduces the private sphere to a situation of total isolation or abjection, and it implicitly confuses the rhetoric of rationality and collective creation of knowledge. It challenges our reading of Scriblerian works that resist transparency, publicity, and assertive seriousness. See Haslett, *Scriblerians to*

chapter explores the influence and reception of Pope's Scriblerian project during an era in which key texts were inaccessible to a general readership. It modifies Haslett's assessment of the Scriblerian Club's contributions to Enlightenment sociability, and brings into focus the limitations of Enlightenment discourses based on a public and shared production of meaning. The four sections of my argument explore anxieties toward the incorporation of Pope's Scriblerian aesthetics within a public sphere of canonical knowledge and acknowledged literary forms. They also analyze the generative tension and creative possibility resulting from Scriblerian satire's marginal and marginalized status. While I leave intact Haslett's claims toward the Scriblerus Club's prominence amidst eighteenth-century "Club" literature, I differ from her insofar as I suggest that Pope's primary innovation of a Scriblerian Orientalist aesthetic achieved its influence by virtue of reticence, inaccessibility, and resistance to public exposure.

The following chapter shows how Pope's legacy fared during the period when his Scriblerian satire was censored, suppressed, repressed, and stigmatized. It considers the historical span between 1751 and 1797, when the Double Mistress chapters were absent from Warburton's posthumous edition of Pope. This removal altered the textual status and coherence of Scriblerus's *Memoirs*, but it also coincided with the formation of a tenuous critical consensus regarding Pope's neoclassical orthodoxy. This suppression also fostered an open secret concerning Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism. With a concept such as the open secret, we can better understand Scriblerian satire's impact on Pope's critical reception and literary influence. Anne-Lise François describes the "open secret" as "an essentially preventative or conservative mode of communication that reveals to insiders what it simultaneously hides from outsiders or, more specifically protects them

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Bluestockings, 4. See also Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into the Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989).

from what they do not wish to know, from what it is in their power to ignore."[3] François's "open secret" reframes the epistemology of the closet as a recessive speech act: "a way of letting oneself be known without even seeming to, calling into play the interpretive powers of one's auditors and engaging their moral freedom."[4] As a speech act, the open secret relies on a "paradox of disclosure that only opens the eyes of the seeing and closes the eyes of the unseeing."[5] Its recessive action involves a preventative and preservative effort to render certain objects "unavailable, untouchable, nonpossessable[.]"[6] According to François, the open secret "puts pressure on the difference between knowledge and acknowledgement," implying "a mode of having reference to others," but also enforcing the discretion "of whether my knowing has any practical and moral value, of whether it counts and for whom" (82). François defines the open secret as a "potential . . . form of potent knowledge" that resists positive articulation and productive assimilation in the acknowledged discourses of a public sphere. She explains, "*Open* . . . can mean all of the following: awaiting enclosure–undetermined and open to change–a site of potentiality; exposed–vulnerable–defenseless; public–held in common–known to all or some."[7]

By recuperating the influence of suppressed texts that confirm Pope's Scriblerian Orientalist aesthetic, this chapter aims to chart out a hitherto unacknowledged arena of eighteenth-century literary-critical controversy. This arena of controversy pertains to a curious pedantry inassimilable to emergent canons of literary and cultural knowledge. It was not universally known that Pope's obscure pedantry conveyed arguments that cast

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[3] Anne-Lise François, *Open Secrets: The Literature of Uncounted Experience* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 2008), 1.

[4] Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1990), 101.

[5] Francois, *Open Secrets*, 2.

[6] Ibid., 81.

[7] Ibid., 11.

aspersions upon the authoritative rhetoric of Church and State, Reason and Religion. Even among those readers aware of Pope's Orientalist imitations, not all accepted that Pope sympathetically identified with his eccentric pedant, Scriblerus. Moreover, those who understood Pope's schemes of satirical pedantry were not willing to stake their reputation on a devastating critical exposure of his subversive deformity and Scriblerian form. Such differences of opinion were mitigated by the suppression of the Double Mistress. During the latter half of the eighteenth century, there emerged a spectrum of conflicting yet co-existent interpretations of Pope's legacy as a Scriblerian Orientalist. With the possible exception of Lawrence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, none of the works in this chapter contested Warburton's suppression of the Double Mistress episode. My four sections address authors who were familiar with the Double Mistress, but who disavowed knowledge of Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism. By recovering their various forms of disavowal and covert imitation, my argument shows the impact of suppression on the critical reception of Pope, and it reveals unseen trajectories of Scriblerian influence.

The initial section discusses Warburton's contribution to the open secret of Pope's Scriblerian form. It explains the background of how Warburton came to write the poet's authoritative posthumous edition, and it outlines his support of Pope's legacy on several fronts, as he both confronted oppositional critics and intimidated Scriblerian imitators. Warburton earned Pope's friendship and trust after in his unsolicited 1738 rebuttals of Jean-Pierre de Crousaz: a Protestant theologian in Lausanne, Switzerland, who composed two essays on Pope's abuse of reason and religion in *An Essay on Man*. While Warburton argued in favor of Pope's philosophical and moral orthodoxy, he also counteracted Samuel Johnson's labors as the anonymous translator of and advocate for Crousaz in *Gentleman's Magazine*. In his posthumous edition, Warburton removed the Double Mistress episode, defined the Scriblerian opus as an unfinished fragment, and maintained

his previous support of Pope's orthodoxy. While literary critics did not challenge Warburton's suppression of the Double Mistress, imitators of Scriblerian satire did. Sterne unrepressed the open secret of a Scriblerian design in *Tristram Shandy*, both imitating Pope's Indian and parodying Warburton in an adaptation of Cornelius Scriblerus of the *Memoirs*. One year after Sterne completed the burlesque of Uncle Toby's failed marriage in the final volumes of *Tristram Shandy*, the inheritors of Joseph Spence's anecdotes decided not to fulfill the author's declared intention of a posthumous publication. In the final paragraphs of my initial section, I detail Spence's provocative glimpse into Pope's Scriblerian designs. In Spence's unpublished volume, Pope declares his concern for (and near completion of) Scriblerus's *Memoirs*. He alludes to an archive of unfinished satires, including his scheme for a controversial 'Brutus' epic and his concepts for experimental oriental/occidental neoclassical imitations. He displays Pope articulating scandalous opinions of British literary history and exposing heterodox moral speculations. Furthermore, he shows Pope positioning his "Epistle on Education" in the fourth book of the *Dunciad* as a continuation of the philosophical satire in *Essay on Man*.

Having introduced Johnson's opposition to Pope's *Essay on Man*, I set out to describe his sublimation of the Double Mistress and reframing of Scriblerian Orientalism. I begin by describing how Johnson's 1781 "Life of Pope" engendered a critical binary of Pope's formal artifice and private deformity. While Johnson concealed his former role in promulgating Crousaz's moral and philosophical critiques, he also paired a purportedly objective critical assessment with unflattering details of Pope's private character. He studied Spence's volume and selected anecdotes featuring Pope's physical disability and moral deviance. However, he ignored evidence of Pope's Orientalist satires and failed to cite (or state the existence of) Spence's unpublished manuscripts. Johnson repressed his knowledge of Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism and instead targeted the hidden deceits of

his neoclassical poetry. He further interpreted the fragmentation of the *Memoirs* as a product of Pope's monstrous body and unnatural imagination. To the extent that Johnson employed the open secret of Scriblerian satire to deform Pope's character and denature his poetry, he also co-opted Scriblerian pedantry and denied its influence. In *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia* (1759), Johnson equated Scriblerian satire with the absurdities of the East, and he re-inscribed its subversive form in a philosophical genre compatible with the values of rational Protestant individualism.[8] Although Johnson used Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism to exemplify the consequences of irrationality and irreligion, he also embraced the advent of scholarly Orientalism. To the extent that this discipline treated the languages and cultures of the East as an object of scientific study, it confirmed the advancement of European civilization and contained the threat of its other.

The third section turns to a poetic imitator of Pope, who distinguished himself as the century's most prominent Orientalist. It illustrates how the stigmatization of Pope's genre of literary Orientalism shaped the emergence of a literary mode and scholarly field inaugurated by Sir William Jones. Jones praised Pope's neoclassical experimentation and even referenced him as a proto-Orientalist, yet he also diligently avoided the archive of Scriblerian satire. On one hand, this archive contrasted with Jones's serious temperament as a scholar and social reformer. On the other, it threatened to undermine his reputation and it compromised his aspirations to professional employment as a judge in the East India Company. My analysis focuses on the decade prior to Jones's departure for India, when he served as president of Johnson's "famous Literary Club, which met fortnightly at the Turk's-Head in Gerard Street, Soho."[9] This Club consisted of the most eminent

[8] On Johnson's philosophical genre of oriental tale, see Martha Pike Conant, *The Oriental Tale in England in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), 233–34.

[9] Michael J. Franklin, *Sir William Jones* (Cardiff: Univ. of Wales Press, 1995), 30. Further references cited *F*.

intellectuals and public figures of the era, and its members were responsible for shaping Pope's legacy during the latter half of the eighteenth century. The literary critics of the Turk's Head Club were not only familiar with Spence's anecdotes and the Double Mistress episode, but they also strongly disapproved of Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism. Two members of the Club—Joseph Warton and Edmond Malone—were later responsible for re-introducing the Double Mistress and for editing a version of Spence's anecdotes as evidence against Pope's morality. While Jones disagreed with his colleagues' dim view of Pope, he also shunned confrontations with an open secret of Scriblerian Orientalism. In my analysis of Jones's *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Languages* (1772), I demonstrate how he synthesized Pope's pastoral, mock-epic, and philosophical poetry within an innovative mode of neoclassical Orientalism. While literary critics typically view Jones's *Poems* as a seminal model for romantic imitators, they often neglect its considerable debt to Pope's visionary aesthetics. Insofar as I isolate the origins of romantic Orientalism in Jones's amalgamations of Pope's archive, I also emphasize Jones's allusions to *An Essay on Man* in his inaugural address to the "Asiatick Society." To the extent that Jones envisioned a scholarly society devoted to the objective study of the East, he also framed an inquiry into universal principles of Man and Nature.

The fourth and final section of the chapter addresses Thomas James Mathias's anonymous *Dissertation, by Martinus Scriblerus, On the Utility and Importance of Oriental Languages* (1781). A scholar of Italian literature and belated Augustan, Mathias accepted Warburton's orthodox portrait of Pope, denied Johnson's claims toward his artifice and deformity, and cited Cambridge's *Scribleriad* as a faithful rendering of Pope's antipathy to Scriblerian pedantry. Mathias upheld the instrumental significance of Pope's legacy, promoting the poet's uncompromising conservatism, invulnerable satirical stance, and disembodied guardianship of Britain's national ideology and neoclassical

inheritance. Mathias borrowed Pope's Scriblerian persona to mock Orientalist dunces, but he did not target established scholars such as Jones. Instead, he pinpointed a chemist and antiquarian named Richard Watson, who used his 1779 appointment as Archdeacon of Ely to promote an institute of Orientalist translation at Cambridge University. In his disparagement of Watson as an enemy to culture and morality, Mathias detached the open secret of Scriblerian Orientalism from Pope's legacy, and dispatched it as an autonomous strategy for stigmatizing Orientalists. It is uncertain whether Mathias read Spence's anecdotes, but it is clear that he read the Double Mistress. When Joseph Warton replaced this suppressed text in his 1797 edition, Mathias (then at the height of his short-lived fame as an Anti-Jacobin satirist) accused him of demolishing Pope's literary legacy.

By acknowledging the wide variety of eighteenth-century responses to the open secret of Scriblerian Orientalism (from Warburton's direct suppression to Johnson's indirect sublimation, Sterne's satirical insinuation to Spence's anecdotal revelation, Jones's ambivalent avoidance to Mathias's unrepentant distortion), we begin to clarify the uneven proliferation of Pope's posthumous legacy as a neoclassical poet and Scriblerian satirist. In the four sections below, I build upon scholars' current knowledge of Scriblerian satire's influence on eighteenth-century British literature. It is well known that the Scriblerus Club appealed to late eighteenth-century Club collaborations. It is also evident that the Scriblerian persona flourished in the purlieus of an increasingly metropolitan Grub Street. It is not yet known that Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism attained influence as an open secret at the margins of public discourse. By acknowledging the diverse trajectories of Pope's Scriblerian Orientalist influence, we gain new perspectives on his initial reception as a canonical poet, literary Orientalist, and Scriblerian satirist.

WARBURTON'S POPE AND THE OPEN SECRET OF SCRIBLERIAN SATIRE

This section addresses the proliferation of open secrets surrounding Pope's posthumous legacy. Such open secrets emerged due to the censorship of texts already in print and the suppression of other texts from public visibility. Few authors have attained the degree of fame and notoriety that Pope achieved during his lifetime, and even fewer have sustained such unanimous praise despite ambiguous, multiple, and contradictory readings of the same works. It is difficult for contemporary scholars to reconstruct the uneven and paradoxical contexts of this reception. For example, late-eighteenth century readers would have known that Johnson wrote the century's authoritative biography of Pope, yet few were aware that he was once a fierce antagonist, who helped suppress an alternative biography that contradicted his own arguments. His translation of Jean-Pierre Crousaz's attacks on *An Essay on Man*, furthermore, contributed to debates that plagued Pope in the final seven years of his life (1738–1744). William Warburton's unsolicited rebuttal of Crousaz (and Johnson) led to a friendship with Pope that earned him the legal property of the poet's literary legacy. By strategically bowdlerizing the Double Mistress from Scriblerus's *Memoirs* and pronouncing it an incomplete text in his 1751 edition of Pope,[10] Warburton prohibited critics from openly addressing its formal design without inciting controversy or risking accusations of critical bias and moral impropriety.[11] Just

[10] Warburton writes, "the separation of our Author's friends . . . put a final stop to their project, when they had only drawn out an imperfect essay towards it, under the title of the *First book of the Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus*"; *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq., vol. 6* (London, 1751), n96. Warburton assured his bookseller, John Knapton, that he has prevented "impertinent" critics from "scurrelous" commentaries: "[the] Public is a strange machine, which by fits is as easily wound up by the veriest dunce or idiot as by the best Artist, nay shall be set going so perversely, that it shall not be in the power of human wisdom to reform it." He cites the artificial man of a "Society of Freethinkers" in chapter twelve of Scriblerus's *Memoirs*. Once he expurgated the Double Mistress and surgically removed allusions from the final chapters, Scriblerus's *bildungsroman* concludes on this image. See Donald W. Nichol, ed., *Pope's Literary Legacy*, 40.

[11] Bolingbroke and David Mallet mock Warburton, "You signalized yourself by affecting to be the Bully of Mr. *P.*'s Memory . . . whose admirable Writings you are about to publish, with Commentaries worthy of Scriblerus himself"; *A Familiar Epistle to the Most Impudent Man Living* (London, 1749), 13. Mary

as Warburton suppressed evidence contrary to his own interpretation, he outsourced the task of a biography to Owen Ruffhead. The latter's 1769 *Life of Alexander Pope, From Original Manuscripts* digested secondhand material provided by Warburton.[12] Johnson's "Life of Pope" also distorted Pope's Scriblerian design and diminished the coherence of the *Memoirs*. Despite their opposed readings of Pope's poetic legacy, Warburton and Johnson were both instrumental in suppressing the existence of his Scriblerian satire.

In order to grasp the censorship and suppression of Pope's Scriblerian Orientalist design, we ought to begin with the controversy generated by a French prose translation of *Essay on Man*. Although Pope's anonymous publication of the poem initially disarmed British rivals who praised its merits without knowing it belonged to Pope, Etienne de Silhouette's 1736 French prose translation inspired literalist readings of his philosophy and theology on the Continent. Catholic as well as Protestant theologians were anxious to halt the "uncritical acceptance" of an "objectionable" philosophy in *Essay on Man*, while secular writers articulated Pope's intellectual debts to Spinoza's "heretical confusion of God and matter."[13] In 1737, Jean-Pierre de Crousaz—a Swiss theologian, philosopher,

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Cooper mocks the author of *The Divine Legation of Moses* as Aristarchus of the *Dunciad*: "With Aegypt's art thy pen may strive,/ One potent drop but let this shed;/ And every rogue that stunk alive,/ Becomes a precious mummy dead"; Cooper, *Verses Occasion'd by Mr. Warburton's Late Edition of Mr. Pope's Work* (London, 1751), 18, v. William Dodd depicts the "DESIGN" of his *New Dunciad*: "I would have the *unlearned Writer* be deterr'd from wantonly trifling with an Art, he is a Stranger to, at the Expence of his own Reputation, and the Integrity of the text of established Authors." R. Aristarchus to reveals his "ANTI-DESIGN": "*SCRIBLERUS*, jun. is a Pedant. 'Tis plain *Luce clarius*—he writeth this only to show his Erudition and Reading. . . . Who knoweth not in that *Design*, he speaketh of his *Style* very largely? Idle—in *Scriblerus*; why not give Honour where due? Why not own from whence he borrowed this Word and method of Writing?"; Dodd, *A New Book of the Dunciad: occasion'd by Mr. Warburton's new edition of the Dunciad complete* (London, 1750).

[12] An unfriendly Advertisement dismisses Owen Ruffhead's *The Life of Pope, Esq. Compiled from original manuscripts; with a critical essay on his writings and genius* (1769) as commissioned by Warburton and oblivious to Pope's designs. In *An inquiry into the nature, and genuine laws of poetry* (1778), Percival Stockdale writes of the detractors, who treat "our celebrated poet with great irreverence, and injustice" and "presume to publish . . . illiberal, and stupid remarks on this great and beautiful poet" (2).

[13] See Roger W. Rogers, "Critiques of the Essay on Man in France and Germany 1736–1755," *ELH* 15.3 (1948): 176–93, 177. On the influence of Silhoutte's translation, see Leonid M. Arinshtein, "Pope in

and mathematician—penned two severe and indignant treatises, in which he accused Pope of mocking Christianity and degrading human reason.[14] In his *Examen de l'Essai de M. Pope sur l'homme*, Crousaz critiqued Pope's subjection of the Christian Divinity to an antecedent principle, and he condemning his fatalist materialism as inimical to morality. As Robert W. Rogers explains, Crousaz claimed that the poem "was surely an elaborate burlesque of Leibnitz's philosophy'; Pope, by stating one absurdity after another, was intentionally demonstrating the weakness of human reason."[15] After Crousaz's opponents challenged his reading of Pope's poem as a logical treatise of philosophy, he published a *Commentaire sur la traduction en vers de Mr. l'Abbé du Resnel, de l'Essai de M. Pope sur l'homme*. This second treatise abandoned the attempt to bind Pope to a philosophical precedent, but it instead depicted his poem as "a weak and unstable guide for conduct."[16] This controversy generated a proxy dispute in Britain, as Warburton intervened on behalf of Pope's rationality and assumed the burden of defending him from critical misprisions.

Warburton composed six letters refuting Crousaz's attacks in a periodical with a wide distribution, *The History of the Works of the Learned* (1738–1739).[17] He argued that

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Russian Translations of the Eighteenth Century," *Studies in Bibliography* 24 (1971): 166–75; Israel, *Enlightenment Contested*, 815–32.

[14] Pope mocks Crousaz in the *Dunciad*, depicting him as a horse in a race to expel Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding*: "Each staunch polemic, stubborn as a rock,/ Each fierce Logician, still expelling Locke,/ Came whip and spur, and dash'd thro' thin and thick/ On German Crousaz, and Dutch Bergersdyck" (iv.195–99).

[15] Rogers, "Critiques of the Essay on Man," 178–79.

[16] When Louis Racine supported Crousaz's criticisms in *La Religion* (1742), Pope wrote to him and reiterated his adherence to the theology of Fénelon and Pascal. Andrew Michael Ramsay, Fénelon's disciple and Pope's primary advocate in France, advocated Pope's cause to Racine, but he later defected and accused Pope of Spinozist heterodoxy. See G.D. Henderson, *Chevalier Ramsay* (T. Nelson & Sons, 1956), 133–43.

[17] As Rogers explains, "Warburton's views were important and authoritative for readers on the Continent. These readers, after all, were not too certain about the nature of English thought; and the remarks of an Englishman on the work of a fellow countrymen were especially influential with them"; "Critiques of the Essay on Man," 186. It is ironic that Warburton never acknowledged that Pope's call for the Scriblerus Club in *Spectator* no. 457 proposed a satirical periodical, entitled *History of the Works of the Unlearned*.

Pope adhered to scholastic and classical philosophy, and claimed that his poem was not inconsistent with either orthodox morality or rationalist propriety.[18] Warburton cites Plato (not Leibnitz) and St. Paul (not Spinoza) as the precedents for *An Essay on Man*. He denies the charge that Pope levels distinctions between human reason and animal irrationality, and reframes the poem's representation of humans as rational beings in a fallen condition, "*steering between doctrines seemingly opposite*" in their dual inclinations to self-love and religious belief.[19] Pope contacted Warburton on 2 February 1739 after three letters appeared in the *Works of the Learned*, and their first meeting took place on 26 April 1740. Pope helped Warburton to edit and reprint his responses to Crousaz in *A Vindication of Mr. Pope's Essay on Man* (1740). Donald Nichol illustrates the "curious chemistry" between Pope and his unlikely supporter—a former assistant to the arch-dunce, Lewis Theobald.[20] In the last four years of Pope's life, Warburton published a *Critical and Philosophical Commentary on Mr. Pope's 'Essay on Man'* (1742), contributed notes and an essay to the *Dunciad*, and attained the legal rights as Pope's literary executor.[21] As I discuss in the paragraphs below, Warburton's critical rebuttals of Crousaz counteracted the English translations of Johnson—a young editor of *Gentleman's Magazine*, who would later write the era's definitive biography of Pope.

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[18] Warburton subsumed Pope's critique of human reason into the orthodox doctrine of the fall of man. Jacques Derrida describes Warburton's "Cartesian critique of rationalism against an intact theological and metaphysical base"; Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1997), 282.

[19] See "The Design" of *An Essay on Man, being the first book of ethic epistles, To Henry St. John L. Bolingbroke* (London, 1734); William Warburton, *A Vindication of Mr. Pope's Essay on Man* (London, 1740), 12.

[20] Donald W. Nichol, ed., *Pope's Literary Legacy: The Book-Trade Correspondence of William Warburton and John Knapton with other letters and documents, 1744–1780* (Oxford: The Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1992), xxxvii.

[21] Warburton inherited Pope's papers and a rivalry against Bolingbroke. The latter was angry at Pope's hand in the publication of his *Idea of a Patriot King* (1738), and he recruited David Mallet as an accomplice in bitter satires against his former friend.

Edward Cave recruited Johnson to translate Crousaz's *Examination of Mr. Pope's Essay on Man* (1738) and *A Commentary on Mr. Pope's Principles of Morality* (1739).[22] The *Gentleman's Magazine* printed these essays together in 1743 as "Considerations on the Dispute, Between Crousaz and Warburton, on Mr. Pope's *Essay on Man*." Johnson never publically admitted his hand in the translation. Although James Boswell neglects or suppresses Johnson's part in the Warburton–Crousaz controversy, John Hawkins explains that he agreed to moderate the debate over *An Essay on Man*, but "proceeded no farther than to state the sentiments of Mr. Crousaz respecting the poem."[23] Johnson disseminated Crousaz's critique of Pope's foreign theology and radical philosophy: "Here behold me sent far enough [to "an *Aegyptian* God"] for Instruction; they have given me the Horse for my Preceptor, and the Ox for my Parish-Priest; and I may live in Ignorance as long as those two Doctors can't see into the Reasons of what they are made to do."[24] According to Crousaz, Pope's poem degrades human reason to the level of an animal or a savage:

> let us be far from taking the Stupidity and Extravagance of Mr. *Pope*'s Indian, or the Ignorance of his Horse and his Ox for our model . . . of an Animal Life, entirely plunged in the present, and only mingled with some Imaginations without Proof, merely to drive Care away; and . . . feed upon Illusions. . . . I must still have a Word more, as I go on, about the *happier Island where no Christians thirst for Gold*. Can Mr. *Pope* take it ill, if we look with Horrour on an intolerable Piece of Rudeness that dishonours the Christian Name, by a real Antichristianity?[25]

Pope's Indian does not seek out the truths of scripture, but settles for the illusions of an "Animal Life, entirely plunged in the present." By attacking humanity's innate capacity

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[22] On Johnson's translation, collation of an earlier (unattributed) translation done for Curll, and collaboration with Elizabeth Carter, see *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson, vol. xvii: A Commentary on Mr. Pope's Principles of Morality, of Essay on Man*, ed. O.M. Brack Jr. (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2004), xvii–xx.

[23] O.M. Brack, Jr., "Samuel Johnson and the Translations of Jean Pierre de Crousaz's 'Examen and Commentaire'," *Studies in Bibliography* 48 (1995): 60–84; 65.

[24] J.P. Crousaz, *Commentary upon Mr. Pope's Essay on Man* (1739), 20.

[25] Ibid., 33–38.

to judge the truth of Christianity, Pope forfeits his claim to reason and didactic authority. By depicting Christians as avaricious and hypocritical, furthermore, Pope slanders the dignity of religion. His offence is not an isolated "Piece of Rudeness," but a systematic "Antichristianity" he seemingly derived from the "*happier Island*" of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*.

Johnson developed Crousaz's implicit critique of *An Essay on Man*'s Orientalist sources in his "Review of Soame Jenyns's *A Free Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil*" (1757). He accused Jenyns of reiterating impure philosophy and impious theology:

> we are devolved back into dark ignorance, and all our effort ends in belief that for the evils of life there is some reason, and in confession, that the reason cannot be found. This is all that has been produced by the revival of Chrysippus's untractableness of matter, and the Arabian scale of existence. A system has been raised, which is so ready to fall to pieces of itself, that no great praise can be derived from its destruction. To object is always easy, and it has been well observed that *the hand which cannot build a hovel, may demolish a temple*.[26]

Johnson neither cites Pope's sources for an "Arabian scale of existence," nor identifies the "Arabian metaphysicians" who support the artificial philosophical systems of *An Essay on Man*.[27] Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* suggests one likely source for Pope's "Arabian scale of existence," insofar as it contrasts the rationalist religion of Salāmān's island with the mysticism of a "*happier island*" where the protagonist learns the limits of his own capabilities. Insofar as Pope's *Essay on Man* derives from sources antithetical to Johnson's perception of orthodox Protestant rationality, he depicts the poem as an attempt to reduce a sublime tradition to ruin. John Courtenay praises his indirect analysis and critical tact in channeling this critique of Pope in an essay against Soame Jenyns:

> When specious sophists with presumption scan
>
> The source of evil, hidden still from man;

[26] O.M. Brack, Jr., *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson, vol. 17* (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 2004), 400.

[27] Ibid., 432.

Revive Arabian tales, and vainly hope

To rival St. John, and his scholar, Pope;

Through metaphysics spread the gloom of night,

By reason's star he guides our aching sight.[28]

Johnson demolished Pope's pretenses to constructive didactic poetry and a sound moral philosophy. He dismissed Warburton's motives as an editor and literary critic, asserting that Pope's legacy made him a Bishop, while he made Pope's legacy a Christian one.

After Warburton was consecrated Bishop of Gloucester in 1760, Scriblerian imitators also targeted him in satires and philosophical burlesques.[29] Warburton became especially concerned when David Garrick alerted him to Laurence Sterne's attempt to peddle a satire to Robert Dodsley (publisher of the first edition of the *Memoirs*), which portrayed him in the role of a Scriblerian pedant.[30] In this satire, entitled "A Fragment in the Manner of Rabelais," Sterne portrays Warburton as a hack writer concocting sermons out of essays on rationalist religion, while his rivals in a contemporary "Job Controversy" are in the next room composing parallel sermons from translations of Orientalist texts.[31]

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[28] John Courtenay, *Poetical Review of the literary and moral Character of the late S. Johnson* (London, 1786), 15. In *The Citizen of the World*, Goldsmith's Chinese philosopher meets a club including "doctor Nonentity, a metaphysician" who writes "essays on the origins of evil, philosophical inquiries on any subject, and draws up an answer to any book upon twenty-four hours warning." Another member, Mr. Tibs, is "a very *useful hand*; he writes receipts for the bite of a mad dog, and throws off an eastern tale to perfection"; *The Citizen of the World; or Letters from a Chinese Philosopher, residing in London, to his friends in the east, vol. 1* (London, 1760), 117–18.

[29] See "A Centaur Fabulous" in *Miscellaneous Poems, by John Byrom, vol. 1* (London, 1773), 105–8. Warburton cited "many fine strokes, many negligences & many obscurities" in Byrom's *Enthusiasm*; Nichol, ed., *Pope's Literary Legacy*, 54, 133–37.

[30] On plot of "Fragment in the Manner of Rabelais" and its relation to Pope's Scriblerian satire, see Ian Campbell Ross, *Laurence Sterne: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2001), 199; Lamb, "Sterne's System of Imitation," in *Critical Essays on Laurence Sterne*, ed. Melvyn New (New York: G.K. Hall, 1998): 19–39, 28–29; Arthur Hill Cash, *Laurence Sterne: The Early & Middle Years* (London: Methuen & Co., 1975), 279.

[31] The "Job Controversy," which emerged when group of scholars (including the Hebrew translator, Bishop Robert Lowth, and the Arabist, Leonard Chappelow) insinuated that his *Divine Legation of Moses* (1738–1742) reconfigured Old Testament personages as ambiguous pseudo-Scriblerian characters. In opposition to Warburton's Old Testament typographies, Chappelow argued that the Book of Job derived

Warburton unsuccessfully bribed Sterne with patronage, and he wrote condescending letters warning him against Scriblerian imitation: "you have it in your Power to make that which is an amusement to yourself & others, useful to both: at least, you should above all things, beware of its becoming hurtful to either, by any violations of decency & good manners . . . to say more would be needless, or perhaps unacceptable." In reply, Sterne sarcastically rejects Warburton's hint: "I may find it very hard, in writing a book such as 'Tristram Shandy', to mutilate everything in it down to the prudish humour of every particular. I will, however, do my best; though laugh, my lord, I will, and as loud as I can too."[32] In *Tristram Shandy* (1759–67), Sterne lampooned Warburton as Walter Shandy—a character based on Cornelius Scriblerus. His novel selectively imitates scenes from the *Memoirs*, featuring a failed baptism and a burlesque courtship, a protagonist trained in antiquarian pedantry, and digressions parodying Locke's concept of human reason.[33] In

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from an original Arabic manuscript. See Robert Lowth, *A Letter to the Right Reverend Author of the Divine Legation* 4th Ed. (London, 1766), 13; Leonard Chappelow, *A Commentary on the Book of Job* (London, 1752), vi–vii. On Sterne, Warburton, and the "Job Controversy," see Alan B. Howes, ed., *Sterne: The Critical Heritage*, 86–88; Howes, *Yorick and the Critics: Sterne's Reputation in England, 1760–1868* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1958), 23–40. Warburton was immersed in a controversy over his *Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated, on the principles of a religious deist* (1738–1742). One rival re-named this the "Divine Legation of Mahomet." See Henry Stebbing, *A Letter to the Dean of Bristol,* (London, 1759), 18–23; Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 80; Melvyn New, "Sterne, Warburton, and the Burden of Exuberant Wit," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 15.3 (1982): 245–74, 256; Jonathan Lamb, "The Job Controversy, Sterne, and the Question of Allegory," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 24.1 (1990): 1–19, 5; Elizabeth Kraft, "Gershom Scholem's Reading of *Tristram Shandy*," in *Swiftly Sterneward: Essays on Laurence Sterne and his Times in Honor of Melvyn New*, eds. W.B. Gerard, E. Derek Taylor, and Robert G. Walker (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Press, 2011), 163–81.

[32] See Nichol, ed. *Pope's Literary Legacy*, 135–37; On early critics linking Sterne to the *Memoirs*, see George Gregory, *Letters on Literature, Taste, and Composition* (Philadelphia, 1809), 215; Robert Lowth, *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, trans. George Gregory, 3rd edition (London, 1835), 181–82; *Letters of Anna Seward, Written between the Years 1784 and 1807* ed. Archibald Constable (London, 1811), i.376–77, ii.184; John Ferriar, *Illustrations of Sterne* (London, 1798), 25–26, 65–66; John Aikin, *General Biography, vol. IX* (London, 1814), 243; Walter Scott, *Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott* (Edinburgh, 1847), i.303. Charles Churchill's *Rosciad* (1761) contrasts Johnson and Sterne as two judges ill-equipped to correct the corruptions of taste on the stage: "For JOHNSON some, but JOHNSON, it was fear'd,/ Would be too grave; and STERNE too gay appear'd"; Churchill, *The Rosciad* 9th Ed. (London, 1765), 4.

[33] On contexts of Sterne's imitation in *Tristram Shandy*, see Keymer, *Sterne, the Moderns, and the Novel*, 25, 157; Marshall Brown, *Preromanticism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1990); Thomas Lockwood,

the final volumes, Sterne re-dedicates the novel to the Indian of Pope's *Essay on Man*, and he returns to an inset tale on a "*Martin*" found in Walter Shandy's translation of "*Hafen Slawkenbergius* from the Latin tongue into the *Cherokee*."[34] Whether or not Sterne recognized the extent of Warburton's Scriblerian suppression, he unrepresses the open secret that unifies Pope's Indian and Scriblerus's inset tale.[35] One of Sterne's more radical imitators—the Irish customs officer, Richard Griffith—explicitly incorporates the "dangerous precedents" of the *Memoirs* and its Double Mistress episode in his forgery, entitled "Sterne's *Koran*" (1770). In Griffith's sequel, entitled *Something New* (1772), he adapts *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* as an editor, who parodies Warburton's footnotes to *Essay on Man*.[36] Such Scriblerian imitators mock Warburton's bowdlerization of the *Memoirs*, yet their threats of exposure emerge in insinuating fictions as opposed to objective criticisms.

Post-Augustan Satire: Charles Churchill and Satirical Poetry, 1750–1800 (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1979); Jonathan Lamb, *Sterne's Fiction and the Double Principle* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989); J.T. Parnell, "Swift, Sterne, and the Skeptical Tradition,' in *Critical Essays on Laurence Sterne*, ed. Melvyn New (New York: G.K. Hall & Co., 1998): 140–58.

[34] Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, ed. Ian Campbell Ross (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2009), 152–53, 210, 435–36. See Scott Nowka, "Talking Coins and Thinking Smoke-Jacks: Satirizing Materialism in Gildon and Sterne," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 22.2 (2009–10), 195–222; 216; Stephen Soud, "'Weavers, Gardiners, and Gladiators': Labyrinths in *Tristram Shandy*," in *Critical Essays on Laurence Sterne*, ed. Melvyn New (New York: G.K. Hall & Co., 1998): 53–68, 61; Wayne Booth, "Did Sterne Complete 'Tristram Shandy'?," *Modern Philology* 48.3 (1951): 172–83; 174. Arthur Hobson Quinn's 1941 *Edgar Allen Poe: A Critical Biography* concludes with "A Possible New Poe Satire." Quinn reprints an 1838 tale featuring Horatius B. Scriblerus's account of the "*Martin*" in *Tristram Shandy*. See Quinn, *Edgar Allen Poe: A Critical Biography* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1941), 757.

[35] Edgar Allen Poe attributes Sterne's inset tale of Hafen Slawkenbergius to a parody of Scriblerus's *Memoirs*. See my discussion of Poe in the final section of chapter four.

[36] See Richard Griffith, *Posthumous Works of a Late Celebrated Genius, deceased* (London, 1770), i.4; Griffith, *Something New* (London, 1772). Harvey Waterman Thayer, *Laurence Sterne in Germany: A Contribution to the study of the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1905), 57; 75. Thayer highlights printings of the *Koran* in Sterne's name by Alfred Hédouin (Paris, 1853), R. Sammer (Vienna, 1795), and J.G. Gellius (Germany, 1771). For an account of Griffith, see René Bosch, *Labyrinth of Digressions: Tristram Shandy as Perceived and Influenced by Sterne's Early Imitators* (New York: Rodolpi, 2007), 72. On Griffith's imitation of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, see John Kirkby's *The Capacity and Extent of the Human Understanding; exemplified in the extraordinary case of Automathes* (1745); *Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon, vol. 1* (London, 1796), 21; Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 'John Kirkby and *The practice of speaking and writing in English*: identification of a manuscript', *Leeds Studies in English*, new ser., 23 (1992), 157–79.

As Donald Nichol explains, Warburton's inheritance "proved to be a mixed blessing. From the moment he became Pope's editor, Warburton found himself besieged from various quarters for the rest of his life."[37] Just as he expurgated the Double Mistress episode, Warburton also suppressed details concerning Pope's Scriblerian design. In his *Life of Johnson*, James Boswell highlights the conspicuous absence of private anecdotes pertaining to Pope: "Speaking of [his] not having been known to excel in conversation. . . . Pope differed widely from Johnson. . . . But although we have no collection of Pope's sayings, it is not therefore to be concluded that he was not agreeable in social intercourse" (*J* 1101–3). Boswell represses his knowledge of the unpublished anecdotes that proved invaluable to Johnson and Joseph Warton (two fellow members in the Turk's Head Club). In fact, Boswell's friend Edmond Malone (another Turk's Head member) edited Spence's anecdotes in addition to aiding in his *Life of Johnson*. Spence's anecdotes would remain unpublished until 1820, when two significantly different editions were released simultaneously. Samuel Weller Singer's edition intermingled Pope's anecdotes with those of contemporary mystics, eccentrics, and Deists. Malone's posthumous edition is roughly half as long. It begins with a separate section of "Popiana," re-arranges anecdotes to expose thematic continuities, and foregrounds commentaries on Scriblerian satire. The 1820 advertisement to Malone's edition places Spence's *Anecdotes* in a table-talk genre: "The reader shall no longer be detained in this passage of a Preface; he has now only to open the door, and he will find Pope in a very comfortable humour, by his parlor fire-side."[38] The advertisement highlights a literary curiosity that has lingered in obscurity for almost a century, despite its influence on Pope's critics and biographers:

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[37] Nichol, ed., *Pope's Literary Legacy*, xxxviii.

[38] Edmond Malone, ed., *Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men* (London, 1820), viii.

> Perhaps there never was a literary collection existing only in Manuscript, with which the public appear to be so familiar as the present one of SPENCE'S ANECDOTES; for since the days of Warton and Johnson, who were first permitted the use of this literary curiosity, it has been frequently referred to for many interesting particulars respecting some modern authors; but its miscellaneous nature, by enlarging its sphere of amusement, remains to be discovered.[39]

Spence's anecdotes demonstrate his familiarity with Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism. In his own writings, Spence attempted to imitate the *Dunciad*, expressed an enthusiasm for *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, and even invented a concept of figurative "*Orientalism*" to convey the sublime imagery of Pope's *Odyssey* translation.[40] In Spence's *Anecdotes,* the Scriblerian form comes into clearer focus than in any other eighteenth-century biography or critical commentary.[41] The following paragraphs outline the patterns of Scriblerian satire, which Pope discussed in the conversations that Spence recorded in his unpublished manuscript.

In Spence's *Anecdotes*, Pope confirms that the Scriblerian "design was carried on much further than has appeared in print" (*SA* 10). He assures Spence that little work remains to bring the plan to fruition: "I have so much of the materials for the Memoirs of

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[39] Malone, ed. *Observations,* iii.

[40] Spence describes his penchant for "reading . . . novels and eastern tales" that make his quotidian existence seem "tasteless and insipid"; Samuel Weller Singer, ed. *Anecdotes, Observations, and Characters of Men* (London, 1820), 361. Further references cited *SA*. In his edition of Stephen Duck's poetry, Spence likens this rustic prodigy with "Hai Ebn Yokdhan." He translated Jean-Denis Attiret's essays on Chinese gardening under the pseudonym "Sir Harry Beaumont," and he also imitated Scriblerian satire in two unpublished pieces ("The Charliad" and "The Life of Charles Magot"). See Spence, *An Essay on Mr. Pope's Odyssey* (London, 1747), 189; Cf. *Dunciad* (iv.246–47).

[41] In his *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (1773), James Boswell highlights Johnson's antipathy to Spence: "I mentioned Pope's friend, Spence. JOHNSON. 'He was a weak conceited man.' BOSWELL. 'A good scholar, Sir? JOHNSON. 'Why, no, Sir.' BOSWELL. 'He was a pretty scholar.' JOHNSON. 'You have about reached him'"; John Wilson Croker, ed. *Boswell's Life of Johnson, including their Tour to the Hebrides* (London, 1848), 374. Joseph Warton admits, "I am indebted to this learned and amiable man . . . for most of the anecdotes relating to POPE, mentioned in this work, which he gave me, when I was making him a visit at *Byfleet*, in the year 1754"; *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, vol. 2* (London, 1782), 239. In 1792, Malone conversed with Warton, "respecting Spence, author of the *Anecdotes*, who he maintained Dr. Johnson had under-rated. . . . He told me that Spence once intended to publish his *Anecdotes*, and had actually sold them to Robert Dodsley for a hundred pounds. Before the matter was finally settled both Spence and Dodsley died. Spence's executors, Dr. G. Ridley and Dr. South, late Bishop of London (who mentioned the circumstance to Dr. Warton), on looking over the *Anecdotes* found there were so many personal strokes affecting persons then living, that suppression at least for a time deemed the more prudent course"; Sir James Prior, ed., *The Life of Edmond Malone* (London, 1860), 184.

Scriblerus ready, that I could complete the first part in three days" (176). Pope indicates his special concern for Scriblerus's *Memoirs*, and recounts his effort to preserve the collaboration from destruction: "In the list of papers ordered to be burnt, were the pieces for carrying on the Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus; and several copies of verses by Dean Parnell. I interceded in vain for both" (290). Pope even boasts of a primary role in minor prose such as the *Origin of Sciences*: "The piece to prove that all learning was derived from the Monkeys of Ethiopia, was written by me, and (I think he added) Dr. Arbuthnot. It made part of the Memoirs of Scriblerus" (167–68). If this hint implies the intersection between Scriblerus's *Memoirs* and prose in the *Miscellanies*, Spence also recounts Pope's intention to compose a "very wild thing," in which he would combine an Oriental tale ("I had some thought of writing a Persian fable") with an Occidentalist satire ("to write American pastorals; or rather the pastorals adapted to the manners of several of the ruder nations, as well as the Americans"). Not only does Spence's manuscript foreshadow the erudite burlesque of the Double Mistress episode, but it also cites Pope's claim that what was "first designed for an Epistle on Education, as part of my Essay-scheme, is now inserted in my fourth Dunciad" (*SA* 289). According to Spence, Pope's didactic poems attempt a leveling satire against established systems of human rationality and Protestant religiosity: "The rule laid down in the beginning of the Essay on Man, of reasoning only from what we know, is certainly the right one, and will go a great way toward destroying all the school metaphysics; and as the church writers have introduced so much of these metaphysics into their systems it will destroy a great part of what is advanced by them too" (290). Spence demonstrates Pope's Counter-Enlightenment animal philosophy and his provocative speculation that "metempsychosis is a very rational scheme, and it would give the best solution of some phenomena in the moral world" (203). Just as Spence's text shows *An Essay on Man* as a satire on authoritative concepts of human reason and

orthodox religion,[42] he also promotes Scriblerus's *Peri Bathous* as an outline of Pope's aesthetics of solemn nonsense. Pope asserts, "*The Profound*, though written in so ludicrous a way, may be very well worth reading seriously, as an art of rhetoric" (176).

Spence alerts readers to subversive Scriblerian techniques, but he also outlines a plan of controversial works that Pope hoped to finish but did not. He alerts Spence of his desire to complete an epic featuring Brutus, who "is supposed to have travelled into Egypt; and there to have learned the unity of the deity, and other purer doctrines, afterward kept up in mysteries" (*SA* 289). According to Spence, Pope had intended to incorporate this epic into an Essay on "Government; both civil and ecclesiastical," but he also admitted, "I could not have said what *I would* have said, without provoking every church on the face of the earth: and I did not care for living always in boiling water—this part would come into my Brutus, which is planned already; and even some of the most material speeches written in prose" (315). Spence presents an unconventional portrait of Pope's radical inclinations as a philosopher, but he also explains Pope's experimentation in neoclassical genres and emphasizes the anti-essentialist conception of literary style, which underlies Pope's efforts in the Scriblerian vein. For instance, Pope insists that a literary critic must not conflate the author's individual person with his use of personae:

> 'There is nothing more foolish than to pretend to be sure of knowing a great writer by his style.' . . . Mr. Pope seemed fond of this opinion. I have heard him mention it several times, and he has printed it as well as said it. But, I suppose, he must speak of writers when they use a borrowed style, not when they write their

[42] Spence recounts a conversation on scientific testing on animals: "[Dr. Stephen Hales is a] very good man; only—I'm sorry—he has his hands so much imbrued in blood. What, he cuts up rats? Ay, and dogs, too! [And with what emphasis and concern he spoke it.] Indeed, he commits most of these barbarities with the thought of its being of use to man; but how do we know that we have a right to kill creatures that we are so little above as dogs, for our curiosity, or even for some use to us? . . . I used to carry it too far: I thought they had reason as well as we . . . So they have, to be sure. All our disputes about that are only disputes about words. Man has reason enough only to know what it is necessary for him to know, and dogs have just that too. . . . But then they must have souls, too, as unperishable in their nature as ours. . . . And what harm would that be to us? (*SA* 293–94)

> own. He himself had the greatest compass, in imitating styles, that I ever knew in any man: and he had it partly from his method of instructing himself, after he was out of the hands of bad masters, which was, at first, almost wholly by imitation. (168)

By grounding Pope's tactics of literary imitation in his resistance to "bad masters" as opposed to his firmly held conservative idealism, Spence likens him to the autodidactic protagonist of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*.[43] Insofar as Pope interprets the styles of English writers on his own terms, he reconfigures the tradition in a controversial manner. Pope asserts, "Milton's style in Paradise Lost is not natural; it is an exotic style. . . . Though his forced style may fit the higher parts of his own poem, it does very ill for others who write on natural and pastoral subjects" (174). Pope also chastises "Shak[e]speare's style, that is . . . the style of a bad age." He declares to Spence that his penchant for antiquarian pedantry has often carried him beyond the bounds of accepted and conventional learning: "There is no one study that is not capable of delighting us after a little application to it. 'How true, even in so dry a thing as Antiquities?'—Yes, I have experienced that myself" (204). In Spence's *Anecdotes*, Pope reveals intellectual and literary designs, which are perilously close to those of his absurd Scriblerian pedant. Spence believed posthumous publication would enhance the perceived objectivity of this portrait of Pope, and he intentionally withheld his controversial *Anecdotes*. After Spence's death in 1768, the inheritors of his manuscript (the Duke of Newcastle and the Bodleian library) deemed it unfit for print, likely due to its representations of Pope as a practitioner of subversive Scriblerian satire.

[43] Spence writes to Pope of Stephen Duck: a man "so out of the world" and "without anything of what is cald Education, grown up into an Excellent Poet all at once" (*PC* iii.132–33). Just as Spence cites Pope's autodidactic education, he also compares Duck to "*Hai Ebn Yokdhan*, and the young Hermes in Mr. Ramsay's *Cyrus*"; see the Preface of Duck, *Poems on Several Occasions*, ed. Spence (London, 1736). This "*Hai Ebn Yokdhan*" also appears in Herbert Croft, *Love and Madness: A Story too True* (London, 1786), 182–83; John Hawkins, *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (London, 1787), 153.

JOHNSON, ORIENTAL TALES, AND THE SCRIBLERIAN GROTESQUE

In his 1781 "Life of Pope," Johnson dismissed the coherent design of Scriblerian Orientalism, and he represented the *Memoirs* as a grotesque product of Pope's deformity. Johnson imagines the fragmentary and baroque curiosities of Scriblerian satire not simply as a product of Pope's monstrous body and superstitious Catholic imagination, but also as a deliberate scheme to degrade the values of a Protestant society he abhorred. Johnson characterizes Pope's genius as the result of his innate and systematic malignity against the common opinions, conventional beliefs, and normative sentiments of his era. He attributes the heightened formalism of Pope's poetry to his calculated malice: "In all his intercourse with mankind, he had a great delight in artifice, and endeavoured to attain all his purposes by indirect and unsuspected methods. 'He hardly drank tea without a stratagem'."[44] Johnson even forces one lesser-known poet into his *Lives* for the purpose of contrast, praising one of Pope's primary dunces, Richard Blackmore, as being superior to a "godless author" that "fetch[es] his heroes from foreign countries" (*SJ* 775). While Johnson depicts Pope as a conniving poet and a deviant satirist, he also omits any declaration of his own previous attacks on *An Essay on Man*. As the following section shows, Johnson further obscures the impact of Scriblerian pedantry on his oriental fiction.

While the twentieth-century editor of Scriblerus's *Memoirs* cites Warburton's bowdlerization of the Double Mistress as the rationale for Johnson's criticism in his "Life of Pope," Treadwell Ruml II explains that, "if we examine the *Dictionary* we find Johnson quoting a passage from the Double Mistress episode, which Warburton suppressed. We know, therefore, that Johnson disliked *The Memoirs*, despite his having

[44] Samuel Johnson, *The Lives of the Poets, vol. 3; The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson, Vol. 23*, ed. John H. Middendorf (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 2010), 1168. Further references cited *SJ*. See also Benjamin Boyce, "Samuel Johnson's Criticism of Pope in *The Life of Pope*," *The Review of English Studies* 5.17 (1954): 37–46.

had the benefit of reading it without expurgation."[45] Christopher Vilmar cites Johnson's predilection for a satire of "corrective moral generalities," in which a clearly defined "authorial presence . . . derides the irrational and contradictory Scriblerian constructions of self."[46] Vilmar overlooks the similarity between Pope's Scriblerian irrationality and Johnson's oriental chronotope, however. In his most famous oriental tale, Johnson foregrounds the perspective of a rational guide who comments on the Scriblerian absurdities that purportedly abound in the East. Freya Johnston claims that Johnson aimed to reform Scriblerian satire as an unpretentious way of conveying commonplaces of Christian debasement and humility, yet she neglects the Eurocentric perspective of his campaign against Scriblerian Orientalism. Johnston argues that Johnson's art of sinking articulates a "Christian message" that "permeated everything in life" with "no established hierarchy of themes, such as classical rhetorical theory required." Insofar as Johnson prefers a "Christian art of sinking to that of *Peri Bathous*," he also equates his own Protestant morality with a rational and self-evident system of objective truths.[47] Just as Johnson Christianized Scriblerian satire, he criticized Pope's didactic poetry as antithetical to established moral sense, social order, and rationalist objectivity.

According to Johnson, Pope's poetic genius excels in the polite and miniaturized neoclassicism of *Rape of the Lock*, yet—from the diminutive height of this mock-heroic brilliance—Pope deviates into the irreverence of *Essay on Man* and the fragmentary

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[45] Treadwell Ruml II, "The Younger Johnson's Texts of Pope," *The Review of English Studies* 36.142 (1985): 180–98; 181–82.

[46] Christopher Vilmar, "Johnson's Criticism of Satire and the Problem of the Scriblerians," *The Cambridge Quarterly* 38.1 (2009): 1–23, 11. Cf. Mark E. Wildermuth, *Print, Chaos, and Complexity: Samuel Johnson and Eighteenth-Century Media Culture* (Newark: Univ. of Delaware Press, 2008), 137–38.

[47] Freya Johnston, *Samuel Johnson and the Art of Sinking, 1709–1791* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2005), 4–5, 16, 234, 214.

blasphemy of Scriblerian satire. Unlike Spence in his *Anecdotes*, Johnson denies the coherence of Scriblerus's *Memoirs*, describing the work as a perverse "miscarriage":

> [Scriblerus's *Memoirs*] extend only to the first book. . . . Warburton laments its miscarriage, as an event very disastrous to polite letters. If the whole may be estimated by this specimen, which seems to be the production of Arbuthnot, with a few touches perhaps by Pope, the want of more will not be much lamented; for the follies which the writer ridicules are so little practiced, that they are not known, nor can the satire be understood but by the learned: he raises phantoms of absurdity, and then drives them away. He cures diseases that were never felt. For this reason the joint production of three great writers has never obtained any notice from mankind; it has been little read, or when read has been forgotten, as no man could be wiser, better, or merrier, by remembering it. The design cannot boast too much originality; for, besides its general resemblance to *Don Quixote*, there will be found in it particular imitations of the *History of Mr. Oufle*. (1147–48)

Since Johnson's biography describes the limitations of Pope's classical learning and the errors of his philosophy, he reasons that Arbuthnot must have been the primary author of the *Memoirs*. On one hand, Johnson questions the erudition of a Catholic poet with little formal education.[48] On another, he renders Pope culpable for a deceptive narrative that "raises phantoms of absurdity, and then drives them away." He further condemns Pope and Arbuthnot's strategy of importing obscure polemics into a Scriblerian narrative that few readers understand and even fewer appreciate. Without divulging the obscure mechanics or erudite sources of Scriblerian Orientalism, Johnson raises a specter of absurdity intrinsic to Pope's genius. He proposes an original Scriblerian design that no respectable reader would dare tolerate, citing the influence of Laurent Bordelon's satire: *A History of the Ridiculous Extravagancies of Monsieur Oufle, Occasion'd by his reading Books treating of Magick, the Black-Art, Daemoniacks, Conjurers, Witches,*

[48] Boswell betrays Johnson's bias against Pope's Catholic religion. He recounts a proposition for a monument to "be erected in St. Paul's church as in Westminster-abbey." The conversation progressed to consider "who should be honoured by having his monument first erected there. Somebody suggested Pope. JOHNSON. 'Why, Sir, as Pope was a Roman Catholick, I would not have his to be first"; Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ed. R.W. Chapman (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1980), 529. Further references cited *J*.

Hobgoblins, Incubus's Succubus's and the Diabolical-Sabbath; of Elves, Fairies, Wanton Spirits, Genius's, Spectres and Ghosts; of Dreams, the Philosopher's Stone, Judicial Astrology, Horoscopes, Talismans . . . Divinations, Charms Enchantments, and other Superstitious Practices (1711).[49] While both the *Memoirs* and *Monsieur Oufle* feature an enthusiastic protagonist, Johnson forces this connection to stigmatize the *Memoirs* as an occultist as opposed to an Orientalist imitation. Although he dismisses the literary value of the *Memoirs*, Johnson cites it throughout his *Dictionary*. Anne McDermott explains that he quotes the work "146 times in the first edition and 143 times in the fourth . . . yet it is a text which one might have expected Johnson to exclude, whether on the grounds of moral propriety or literary merit."[50] To the extent that he includes the *Memoirs* in his "Life of Pope," Johnson affiliates it with Pope's extravagant artifice and moral deformity. By emphasizing its grotesque content and fragmentation, Johnson reaffirms his criticism of Pope's antagonism to norms of mainstream Protestant rationality in his formal poetry.

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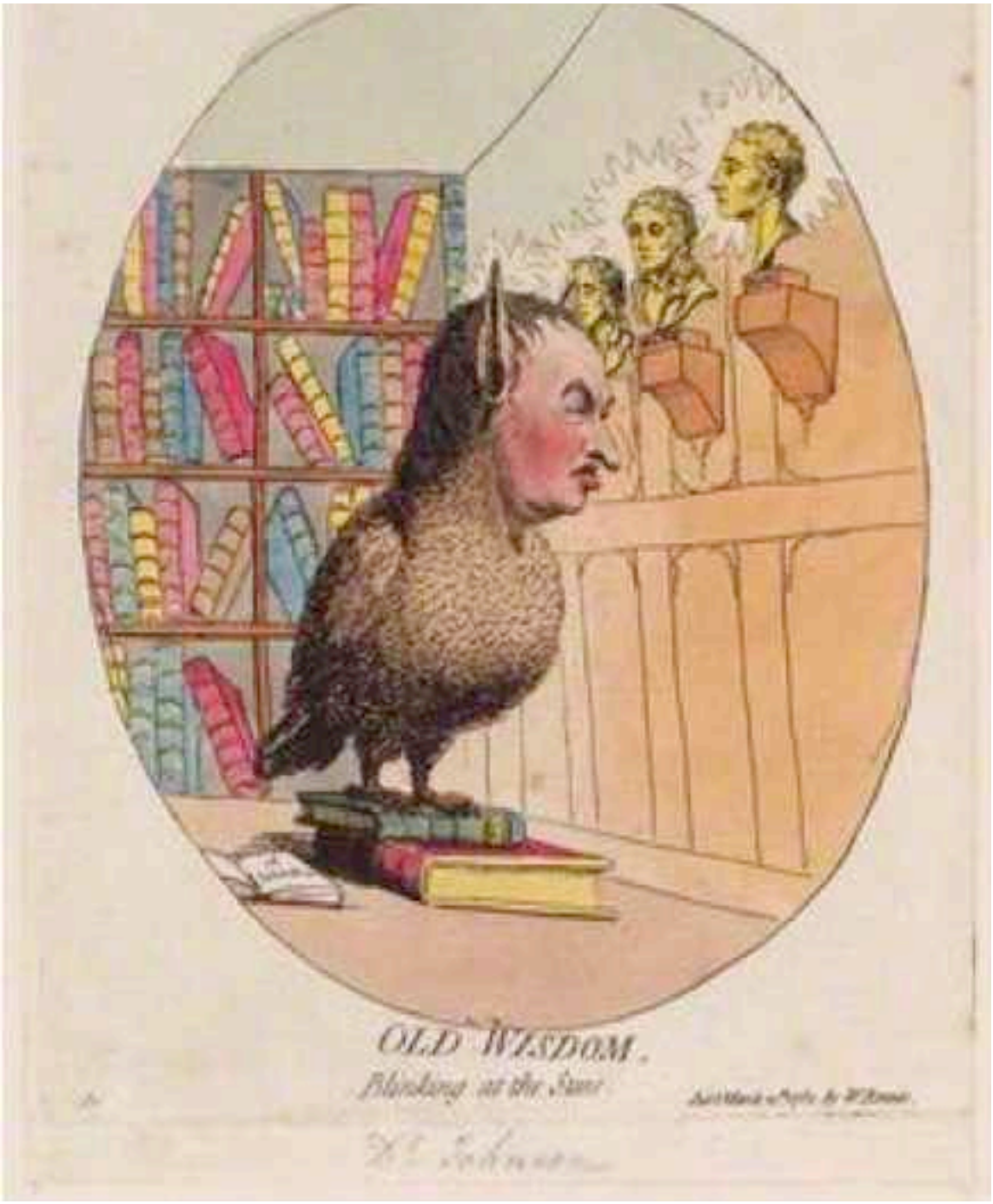
[49] See Laurent Bordelon, *A History of the ridiculous extravagancies of Monsieur Oufle* (London, 1711). In this tale, the protagonist enters a trance and raises havoc in the streets after he views himself in a mirror wearing a bear costume. Peter Quennel seems to agree with Johnson: "Scriblerus is not merely a purblind scholar; he is a literary Evil Spirit, who has convinced himself that bad writing has some positive, intrinsic value"; *Alexander Pope: The Education of a Genius* (New York: Stein and Day, 1968), 231.

[50] Anne McDermott cites the words in the *Dictionary* whose citations are taken from the *Memoirs*: "abortion, administer, aduncity, apple woman, arid, as, bachelor, bestiality, bigamy, billet, birdcage, bite, bobcherry, brow-beat, burst, catamountain, chicanery, chirographist, christening, chromatick, clasp, cock, cockmatch, compile, confidant, constrictor, contain, contentation, coquette, court-day, crack-brained, cradle, cringe, cudgel, dead, decompound, disinclination, duck, duenna, effossion, embolus, enervate, enrapt, enthymeme, extensor, fatner, fence, file, flexor, fluid, football, gavot, gymnastick, handydandy, hebetate, heedlessly, hermaphrodite, hotcockles, hydraulick, hysterick, incapacitate, incontinently, incrust, indignant, individuality, inhale, intort, in-trust, jackal, judgment, lame, lighthouse, longitude, lovetoy, lyre, make, manacle, mantiger, marble, microscopical, minor, miscarry, monstrosity, moor, murrey, musick, new, nonentity, nozle, numskull, ogle, ostrich, parish, pathognomonick, percussion, physiognomist, piazza, pineal, porcupine, potbelly, pout, prizefighter, punster, puppetshow, push, puss, quill, quoit, retreat, river-god, robustness, roe, salacious, saraband, satin, seal, seat, self, sesquipedalian, show, sigh, skylight, spirit, spleened, squall, stammer, state, straddle, suction, swift, tennis, tour, trade-wind, troglodyte, tune, uncoif, undismayed, ungently, universal, vectitation, vice, whirligig, wilderness, womanly, yonder. In the fourth edition the quotations under billet, new, and sigh are omitted"; McDermott, "Textual Transformations: *The Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* in Johnson's *Dictionary*," *Studies in Bibliography* 48 (1995): 133–148, 140.



10. Caricature of Johnson denigrating Pope and Milton in his *Lives of the Poets*. James Gillray, *Old Wisdom Blinking at the Stars* (London, 1782).

In his dream vision on the ascent of education, "The Vision of Theodore, The Hermit of Teneriffe: Found in his Cell," Johnson distinguishes an objective learning motivated by twin guides of "Reason" and "Religion" from a subjective pedantry that derives from corrupt "Habits," "Passions," and "Appetites."[51] He describes intemperate pedantry as a ground for unstable creations that compromise solid rationality and orthodox religion. To the extent that he mocks enthusiastic and eccentric pedantry, Johnson particularly highlights the adverse effects of satirical pedantry on public belief and morality. He derides irreverent recourse to non-authoritative fields of ancient and modern learning, describing it as both useless and dangerous. For instance, Johnson parodies Scriblerian pedantry in a two-part essay in *Rambler* no. 82 (29 December 1750). Johnson's protagonist, "Quisquilius" [Latin, *quisquiliae*: f.pl. waste matter], boasts of being "known in the world of learning, as the most laborious and zealous virtuoso that the present age has the honor of producing." Quisquilius amasses trifling antiquarian fetishes:

> I can shew one vial, of which the water was formerly an icicle on the crags of *Caucasus*, and another that contains what once was a snow of the top of *Atlas*; in a third is dew brushed from a Banana in the gardens of *Ispahan*; and, in another brine that once rolled in the Pacific ocean. . . . I shall tell you that *Britain* can by my care boast of a snail that has crawled upon the wall of *China*; a humming bird which an *American* princess wore in her ear; the tooth of an elephant who carried the queen of *Siam*; the skin of an ape that was kept in the palace of the great mogul; a ribbon that adorned one of the maids of a *Turkish* sultana; and a s[c]ymet[a]r once wielded by a soldier of *Abas* the great. . . . [I have] a lock of *Cromwell's* hair in a box turned from a piece of royal oak; and keep in the same drawers, sand scraped from the coffin of King *Richard*, and a commission signed by *Henry* the seventh. I have equal veneration for the ruff of *Elizabeth* and the shoe of *Mary* of *Scotland* . . . a tobacco-pipe of *Raleigh*, and a stirrup of king *James*. I have paired the same price for a glove of *Lewis*, and a thimble of queen *Mary*; for a fur cap of the *Czar*, and a boot of *Charles of Sweden*.[52]

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[51] See Arthur Murphy, ed., *Works of Samuel Johnson . . . In Twelve Volumes*, *vol. 1* (London, 1792), 406–423.

[52] Samuel Johnson, *The Rambler*, 7th edition (London, 1767), 148.

The "wealth of India" could not satisfy Quisquilius's curiosity, and he sells his "*Harleian* collection" through the *Rambler* to replace a lost fortune (Johnson alludes to the massive collection of the former Scriblerus Club member, Robert Harley). Quisquilius's exotic archive is defined by its uselessness and lack of value, but also by a conceptual ambiguity that results from its neglect of implicit cultural and moral contexts. Not only does Quisquilius declare an "equal veneration" for the artifacts of a Catholic Queen Mary and a Protestant Queen Elizabeth, but he also reduces the dignity of monarchy to the aura of a Catholic reliquary. While Quisquilius levels ideological distinctions in British history, he eradicates the categorical hierarchy that separates the accumulation of ridiculous foreign rarities and backward relics from an objective study of timeless, transcendental truths. Quisquilius's sordid artifacts corrupt normative values and contaminate legitimate fields of scholarship. Quisquilius is not simply a ridiculous dunce, but also a threat to society.

Just as he displays the disastrous consequences of crack-brained pedantry, Johnson emphasizes the didactic genre of his major oriental tale: *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia* (1759). By focalizing representations of Scriblerian pedantry through the perspective of Imlac, a guide who accompanies the protagonist in his departure from the "Happy Valley," Johnson couples extravagant fictions with sound moral instruction. Although contemporary critics attribute Johnson's pseudo-oriental tales to the precedent of Addison and Philips, they neglect his critical counter to the coruscating erudition and subversive imagination of Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism. Geoffrey Tillotson, however, depicts Johnson's *Rasselas* as a response to the "very wild thing" Pope articulates in his correspondence with Judith Cowper and Joseph Spence. As Tillotson explains, Johnson implicitly critiques Pope's Orientalist model and instead develops the moralizing pseudo-

oriental genre of his rival, Philips.[53] In the early chapters of *Rasselas*, Johnson provides an anti-Scriblerian foil to the trustworthy guide, Imlac. Before he encounters the rational guide, Rasselas meets a fool who has composed "A Dissertation on the Art of Flying." This enthusiast proves his capacities to by jumping off of a cliff and sinking into a pond. In his *Art of Sinking in Poetry*, Scriblerus inquires, "Is there not an Art of *Diving* as well as of *Flying?*" Pope recommended an art of flying as a strategy for translating Homer: "there may be found a method of coming at his main works. . . by using poetical engines, Wings, and flying over their heads" (*PC* i.208, i.220). According to Marina Warner, the trope of flying was associated with accounts of occult Occidental ritual and tales of Orientalist fantasy: "[the] idea of flying . . . opened a vista of metaphorical meanings for the human subject, associated with angelic bodilessness, sexual delight, fairy ethereality, untrammeled motion, uplift, and intoxication—and also with vertigo, disorientation, the unbearable lightness of being."[54] Johnson's flying artist satirizes Pope's absurd pedantry, ripping off his tactic of Scriblerian Orientalism and simultaneously denying its influence:

> The labor of rising from the ground, said the artist, will be great, as we see it in the heavier domestic fowls. . . . You, Sir, whose curiosity is so extensive, will easily conceive with what pleasure a philosopher, furnished with wings, and hovering in the sky, would see the earth, and all its inhabitants . . . [and] all the countries within the same parallel. . . . How easily then shall we trace the Nile through all its passage; pass over distant regions, and examine the face of nature from one extremity of earth to another![55]

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[53] Tillotson explains Johnson's *Rasselas* as "a fulfillment of the intention" of Pope's Orientalist scheme, yet one written in imitation of Pope's rival, Philips. See Tillotson, *Essays in Criticism and Research* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1942), 114. Johnson derived his eastern scenery from Jerónimo Lobo's *Voyage to Abyssinia* (1735).

[54] Also see 1585 illustration of "The Flyer" or "Algonquin shaman in Stylized Pose" imitating "the flight of a bird in a ritual dance"; Warner, *Stranger Magic*, 331, 110.

[55] Samuel Johnson, *Rasselas, Poems, and Selected Prose*, ed. Bertrand Bronson (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1952), 518. Further references cited *R*.

While the Scriblerian flyer ludicrously compares human ingenuity to the labor of "the heavier domestic fowls," he also elevates the subjective "pleasure of a philosopher" over the objective aims of reason and religion. Much like Quisquilius's curiosity cabinet, the flyer's attempt to present "all the countries in the same parallel" disavows the particular hierarchy of civilizations that Johnson found necessary to discriminate rational cultures from irrational ones. As opposed to the sinking enthusiast, Imlac assists Rasselas's flight from the "Happy Valley" to show the debasement of the human condition resulting from an excess of passion and lack of rational restraint. Imlac demystifies magicians who overestimate human potency, corrects freethinkers who devalue humanity to a bestial state, and discredits hermits who pursue a utopian existence outside of human society. He cures diseases of Pope's Scriblerian imagination, and supports Johnson's explicit aim to chastise those who "indulge the power of fiction, and send imagination out upon the wing" (*R* 596). By displaying the absurdity of Orientalist pedantry, Johnson deploys the oriental tale as a vehicle to reify rationalist discourses and reinforce Protestant orthodoxy.

Despite Johnson's criticism of Pope's Scriblerian pedantry, he did not dismiss the value of an emergent Orientalist scholarship. Boswell declares that Johnson once aspired to "have gone to Constantinople to learn Arabick, as [Edward] Pococke did" (*J* 1085). He does not clarify his perspective in regards to *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*—the controversial Arabic manuscript that Pococke's son translated and Pope turned to polemical Scriblerian use. Johnson tolerates Orientalist learning to the extent that it conforms to the hegemonic grid of Western dominance. Boswell, for instance, depicts his fondness for Warren Hastings, the Governor-General of India from 1773–1785. Hastings implemented the East India Company's policies of inland invasion and sale of rent-collecting rights to local Nawabs, who instituted a system of rack-renting and extortion outside the bounds of the British

Constitutional protection.[56] In the midst of the impeachment trial of Hastings, Boswell prints his remarks on Hastings's contribution to Orientalist scholarship.[57] Johnson also gravitated toward unsympathetic and stigmatizing variants of Orientalism. In his only dramatic work, *Irene* (1749), Johnson culled negative depictions of Islam from Richard Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603). Nicholas Hudson explains Johnson's preferred scholarship as avowedly antagonistic to the peoples and cultures of the East:

> Knolles shared his culture's general fear and loathing of the Turks. . . . [For Knolles] the Turks constituted the evil empire *par excellence*, a force of fanatic Islamic superstition and violence pushing at the borders of Christian Europe. . . . In *Irene*, Mahomet and his regime exemplify that mixture of horror and awe in the presence of the Orient which characterizes Knolles's book, and which evidently continued to color Johnson's views on India even near the end of his life.[58]

Johnson's affinity for Knolles's Orientalism explains his adoption of stereotypical images "according to which Europe (the West, the 'self') is seen as being essentially rational, developed, humane, superior, authentic, active, creative and masculine, while the orient

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[56] Conor Cruise O'Brien explains that Hastings's operations "ranged far beyond the borders of Bengal, westward up the Ganges valley, through Oudh and Rohilkhand and out to Benares. As Governor-General of Bengal, Hastings was responsible, at least ostensibly, to the Company's Court of Directors in Leadenhall Street. But in dealing with territories he informally acquired, Hastings was responsible to no one. In these territories, he exercised arbitrary power, through his absolute control of a nominally sovereign prince, the Nawab of Oudh"; *The Great Melody: A Thematic Biography of Edmund Burke* (Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press, 1992), 283; See also Sudipta Sen, *Empire of Free Trade: The East India Company and the Making of the Colonial Marketplace* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); Jeremy Bernstein, *The Dawning of the Raj: The Life and Trials of Warren Hastings* (Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press, 2000); Robert Travers, "Ideology and British Expansion in Bengal, 1757-72," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 33.1 (2005): 7–27; Marshall, P.J. *East India Fortunes: The British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).

[57] Johnson writes to Hastings: "I can only . . . hope, that a mind comprehensive like yours will find leisure . . . to enquire into many subjects of which the European world either thinks not at all, or thinks with deficient intelligence and uncertain conjecture. I shall hope, that he who once intended to increase the learning of his country by the introduction of the Persian language, will examine nicely the traditions and histories of the East; that he will survey the wonders of its ancient edifices, and trace the vestiges of its ruined cities; and that, at his return, we shall know the arts and opinions of a race of men, from whom very little has been hitherto derived" (*J* 1117–18). Cf. Garland Cannon, ed., *The Letters of Sir William Jones, vol. 2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 636. Further references cited *LJ*.

[58] Nicholas Hudson, *Samuel Johnson and the Making of Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003), 199–200.

(the East, the 'other') . . . is seen as being irrational, aberrant, backward, crude, despotic, inferior, inauthentic, passive, feminine, and sexually corrupt."[59] Johnson reconciled such prejudices with pretenses of objective scholarship, for he trusted accepted testimonies of British scholars as incontestable evidence. In 1700, Sir Paul Rycaut translated Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turks* (1603) as the authoritative account of the territories he had recently visited as a British diplomat. Rycaut confirmed Knolles's accurate account and bolstered its claims with his own personal approval. Knolles's history embodies Islam as a geopolitical and cultural opposition to Christianity, and it stereotypes the "Turk" as a polarized opponent to the Protestant Enlightenment. Johnson naturalized this anti-Islamic ideology during an era when the Ottoman and Mughal Empires were weakened and the British Empire was rapidly expanding. Insofar as he moderated Knolles's condemnation of the fraudulent and resistant "Turk," Johnson reconstructed the Orient as a notional space defined by its misguided morality, irrational subjectivity, and delusional passions.

WILLIAM JONES'S NEOCLASSICAL ORIENTALIST IMITATIONS OF POPE

This section reframes Johnson criticism of Scriblerian Orientalism from the perspective of William Jones, his rival and fellow member of the Turk's Head Club. Johnson and Jones both supported emergent discourses of scholarly Orientalism, and they shared an anxiety toward the possible association of their literary and scholarly reputation with repellent aspects of Pope's Scriblerian archive. While Johnson configures Scriblerus as a grotesque curiosity-monger, Jones instead negotiated the contaminating proximity of Scriblerian pedantry to his own arena of Orientalist scholarship. Jones avoided Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism in order to maintain his reputation for scholarly objectivity, for he

[59] Alexander Lyon Macfie, ed., *Orientalism: A Reader* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 2000), 4.

was seeking a position in the East India Company during a tumultuous era in domestic politics and imperial management abroad. Indeed, his prospects as a translator and judge in the East India Company far outweighed his potential efficacy as a writer in Britain. Although Jones abandoned his early career as a literary Orientalist and an experimental innovator of Pope's neoclassical genre theory, he repudiated Johnson's quarantine of the Orient as a chronotope of irrational inversion and as a territory awaiting the enlightened control of a superior European culture. In his youth, William Jones hoped to complete a "projected History of the Turks" to combat "Western ignorance . . . religious prejudice and Eurocentric stereotypes."[60] As early as 9 October 1772, Jones told Samuel Parr of his desire to publish a "short *History of the Turks*," which "will be the Iliad in a nutshell" (*LJ* i.136). Michael J. Franklin explains Jones's scorn toward Johnson's preferred model for Orientalist scholarship, claiming he reserved "his scorn for those who, like the scholar Richard Knolles and the consul Paul Rycaut, had written on Turkish culture and history without a knowledge of the language." Before distinguishing himself as an Orientalist translator, Jones used Pope's poetry to devise a synthetic genre of neoclassical Orientalism, and he compared the catharsis of pleasure and pain in Pope's didactic poetry to the passionate sublimity of Turkish, Arabic, and Persian poetry. He championed Pope's experiments in neoclassical genre theory, touted his universalist anthropology, and even alluded to him as a donor of Indian manuscripts to the Bodleian Library.[61]

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[60] Franklin differentiates Jones's Orientalism from moralizing popular genres: "works such as Johnson's *Rasselas* (1759), or Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World* (1762), had demonstrated the popular success of clothing Enlightenment morality or satire in convincing imitations of exotic Eastern garb. Pretended translations, such as Collin's *Persian Eclogues* (1742), provided potential confusion for [authenticity], while sections of the reading public were unconcerned about the genuineness of the product, simply reacting to a fashionable craze for things Oriental" (*F*, 20–21, 12–14).

[61] Jones writes, "There is a curious book at *Oxford*, which was presented to the University by *Mr. Pope*, and contains the pictures of all the Kings who reigned in *India*, from the most early times to the age of *Timúr*, whose descendent *Báber* founded the monarchy of the *Moguls* at the opening of the sixteenth century"; *The Works of Sir William Jones, vol. 5*, 581. In *Indian Antiquities* (1793–1794), Thomas Maurice takes "particular notice" of a book in "the Bodleian library, presented to the University of Oxford, by Mr.

In light of the literary, political, and intellectual differences between Johnson and Jones, it may seem surprising that they were acquaintances and fellow members of the Turk's Head Club. The context of the Club, however, allows us to witness the emergence of an implicit private rivalry, for "the controversial subject of politics was prohibited in the meetings, among other reasons, in order to insure that these friendships would not be disrupted."[62] This restriction on conversation did not negate the possibility of outside conflict, as Garland Cannon explains: "the ban against politics did not count outside the Club."[63] Certain topics of literary interest, furthermore, carried a political and intellectual valence. In the wake of his entry into the Club, Jones stifled his aspirations as a literary imitator of Pope. Jones was unanimously elected into the Turk's Head on April 2 1773 (he was sponsored by Robert Chambers, later his fellow judge in India). Upon the death of Topham Beauclerk in March of 1780, Jones was elected the Club's president. In the first months after his election, Jones increased the membership to thirty-five individuals and promoted his bid for a House of Commons seat out of the University of Oxford's district. Under Jones's presidency (1780–83), the Club expanded into a private alliance of distinguished scholars, critics, artists, and politicians. In the year of Jones's failed bid for election, the Turk's Head also put forth Edmund Burke, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and Charles Fox as candidates for the House of Commons. In the 1780s, Jones used his Club connections in hopes of securing his appointment as an East India Company judge. Given

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Pope, and affirmed, in the letter of that author which accompanies the donation, to contain 'one hundred and seventy-eight portraits of the Indian rajahs, continued down to Timur, and the Great Moguls his successors, as far as Aurungzebe.' The account of this book by Mr. Cleland, prefixed to Dr. White's and Mr. Davy's translation of the Institutes of Timur, establishes the authenticity of it"; *Indian Antiquities, vol. 2*, (London, 1793–1794), 263.

[62] Garland H. Cannon, "Sir William Jones and Edmund Burke," *Modern Philology* 54.3 (1957): 165–86, 166.

[63] Cannon, "Sir William Jones and Edmund Burke," 180.

these opportunities for upward mobility, Jones restrained from personal conflict with the numerous Club members who were antagonistic to his literary and political sensibilities.

Jones recounts his initial brush with Johnson on 16 February 1769, writing a letter to his current pupil (from 1765–1770) and potential patron, George John Spencer, Viscount Althorp. Jones's friend, Robert Chambers hosted Johnson and Oliver Goldsmith at University College, Oxford. Jones boasts to Althorp, "you see we are not so dull and philosophical at Oxford as some people imagine."[64] Jones later invited Althorp to become a member of the Turk's Head Club: "Johnson says truly that Europe cannot produce such another club, and that there is no branch of human knowledge, concerning which we could not collectively give the world good information" (*LJ* i.280).[65] The club consists only of men "whose names will be recorded by future historians. . . . only those *who have done what deserves to be written, or written what deserves to be read*" (i.281–83). Jones adapts *Essay on Man* in urging Althorp to attend: "You will agree with me, that *men* are the principal objects of a *man's* study and contemplation, that we cannot see and know too many of them, when there is anything extraordinary in their life and character, especially when they are eminent for learning, wit, and virtue" (i.279). Despite his respect for Johnson, Jones privately asserted that "prejudices in *politics*" biased his judgment.[66] He informed Althorp: "one must be upon one's guard in . . . [his] company if

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[64] "I dined and supped yesterday with four extraordinary men; Dictionary Johnson, Dr. Goldsmith, author of the Good-Natur'd Man, Mr. Chambers, the Professour of Law, and Mr. Percy, who published the famous collection of old songs." Jones boasts, "They were in high spirits, and I was very much entertained and improved with their conversation. We are to have another ball the beginning of next week; so you see we are not so dull and philosophical at Oxford as some people imagine" (*LJ* i.24).

[65] Jones lists accomplished members of the Turk's Head: George Colman and David Garrick, Charles Fox and Edmund Burke, James Boswell and Joseph Warton, Edward Gibbon and Joseph Banks. He depicts Johnson as "the best scholar of his age" (*LJ* i.280).

[66] Cannon contends that Jones's politicization over the American Revolution prompted this alienation from Johnson. Jones attempted to run for Parliament from a Tory-dominated Oxford by mobilizing its Whig minority behind his presidency of the Turk's Head Club. Jones proposed this campaign in a "meeting extraordinary" of the club on 9 May 1780—the same day that Richard Watson proposed a model institution for Orientalist studies at Cambridge University (the event prompting Mathias's *Dissertation, by Martinus*

one wants to preserve their good opinion" (i.275).[67] Johnson discouraged Jones's interests in poetry and politics—the two arenas in which they differed significantly. After Johnson published his *Lives of the Poets*, Jones declared that they had become "very cool to one another. . . . He is displeased with me for not praising his lives. Believe me, I cannot praise him; nor do I wish to have the good word of a man, who abuses all the friends of Liberty . . . [and whose] praise is defamation" (i.335).[68] In *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson* (1786), Hester Thrale recalls her confusion when Johnson's "most lofty panegyric upon Jones the Orientalist" made his honoree "little pleased with the praise, for what cause I know not."[69] Garland Cannon highlights the extent of the fallout, as Jones "never considered eulogizing Samuel Johnson. A report about the old man's stroke in 1783 evoked only 'Poor Johnson'" (*LJ* ii.637). In the paragraphs below, I introduce the neoclassical Orientalist poetry that contributed to this rift between Johnson and Jones.

Eleven years prior to his departure for India (and one year prior to his entry into the Turk's Head Club), Jones staked his claim as the innovator and promoter of a genre of literary imitation. His *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick* (1772) invents a modern genre of literary Orientalism based on the precedent of Pope's neoclassicism. Jones echoes lines of Pope's poetry and compounds multiple allusions in

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Scriblerus). Johnson dismissed Jones's parliamentary bid in *Gentleman's Magazine*, and discouraged his innovations in poetry. Jones sustained an interest in Scriblerian aesthetics. See the allegory he sent Benjamin Franklin prior to the American Revolution, "A Fragment of Polybius From His Treatise on the Athenian Government". Also, see his promotion of Siraj ul-Haq's 1789 Persian translation of Parnell's *Hermit*. Cannon, *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones: Sir William Jones, The Father of Modern Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1990), 208; Cannon, "Sir William Jones and Dr. Johnson's Literary Club," *Modern Philology* 63.1 (1965): 20–37.

[67] Jones was more moderate in writing Althorp's mother, Lady Spencer: "though I dislike his principles, I venerate his intellect" (i.406).

[68] James Gillray enshrined this aspect of Johnson's *Lives* in *Old Wisdom Blinking at the Stars* (1782), a caricature that draws him as a duncely owl peering at Milton and Pope.

[69] Hester Lynch Thrale [Piozzi], *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson* (Dublin, 1786), 205. See also James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, L.L.D.*, ed. John Wilson Croker (New York, 1837), 264.

adaptations that break down classical hierarchies of genre. His Preface recommends "to the learned world a species of literature, which abounds with so many new expressions, new images, and new inventions."[70] In the first of his two critical essays, "On the Poetry of the Eastern Nations," Jones justifies the propriety of refreshing classical aesthetics:

> I must once more request, that, in bestowing these praises on the writings of *Asia*, I may not be thought to derogate from the merit of the *Greek* and *Latin* poems, which have justly been admired in every age; yet I cannot but think that our *European* poetry has subsisted too long on the perpetual repetition of the same images, and incessant allusions to the same fables: and it has been my endeavour for several years to inculcate this truth, *That, if the principal writings of the Asiaticks, which are reposited in our public libraries, were printed with the usual advantage of notes and illustrations, and if the languages of the Eastern nations were studied in our places of education, where every other branch of useful knowledge were taught to perfection, a new and ample field would be opened for speculation; we should have a more extensive insight into the history of the human mind, we should be furnished with a new set of images and similitudes, and a number of excellent compositions would be brought to light, which future scholars might explain, and future poets might imitate*. (*PT* 198–99)

While Jones's Preface may seem to suggest a radical break from orthodox neoclassicism, his "*new and ample field*" aims to synthesize Pope's experimental genres of pastoral and mock-heroic imitation with precedents drawn from the arena of Orientalist scholarship. Jones critiques the stasis and traditionalism of neoclassical aesthetics, and he laments the staleness of a mode of literature predicated on a "perpetual repetition of the same images, and incessant allusions to the same fables."[71] Jones promotes an aesthetic reform, and he

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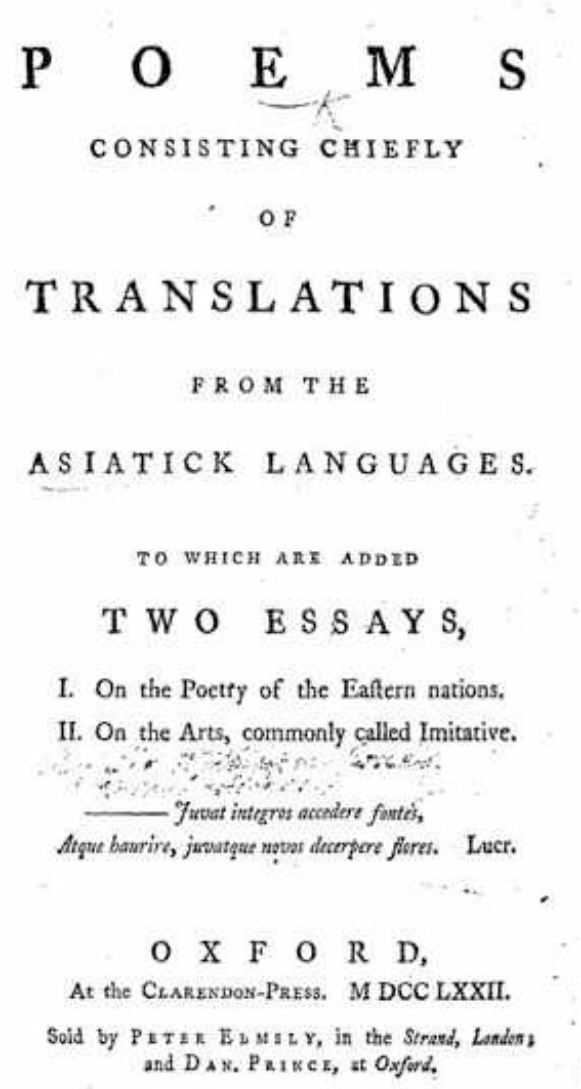
[70] William Jones, *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick* (Oxford, 1772), viii. Further references cited *PT*.

[71] Jones's project corresponds with an aesthetic theory popularized by William Chambers's *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (1772). Chambers encouraged an exotic aesthetic to improve on the unadorned materials of nature. He proposed a mode of fluctuation and surprise, a breaking down of perceived barriers in the landscape, and a resolution of Ancient–Modern debates through a third term of Oriental aesthetics. On similarities between Chambers's gardening and Pope's Scriblerian satire, see Isabel W. Chase, "William Mason and Sir William Chambers' 'Dissertation on Oriental Gardening," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 35.4 (1936): 517–29, 529; Cf. William Mason, *An Heroic Epistle to William Chambers, Knight* (London, 1773), 9–12. On the "*East*" in Ancient–Modern debates, see Robert A. Greenberg and William B. Piper, eds., *The Writings of Jonathan Swift* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1973), 377.



POEMS

CONSISTING CHIEFLY

OF

TRANSLATIONS

FROM THE

ASIATICK LANGUAGES.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

TWO ESSAYS,

I. On the Poetry of the Eaſtern nations.

II. On the Arts, commonly called Imitative.

——— *Juvat integros accedere fontes,*
Atque haurire, juvatque novos decerpere flores. Lucr.

OXFORD,

At the CLARENDON-PRESS. M DCC LXXII.

Sold by PETER ELMSLY, in the *Strand, London*;
and DAN. PRINCE, at *Oxford*.

11. Frontispiece, William Jones, *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Languages*, (Oxford, 1772).

implicitly assumes that the conventional canon of European classicism and the emergent ones of Orientalist literature agree in their potential for didactic instruction. Although twentieth-century scholars often interpret Jones's literary and scholarly theories in terms of their influence on nineteenth-century romanticism and Orientalism, they also diminish the fact that he was developing an aesthetic mode latent in Pope's neoclassical archive.

In the second critical essay in his *Poems*, entitled, "On the *Arts*, commonly called *Imitative*," Jones portrays Orientalist imitation as a cathartic genre of didactic poetry, which is often misinterpreted for its seemingly burlesque and hyperbolic expressions. Jones argues that British readers rarely account for prohibitions on representational arts in "*Mahometan* nations," where the poets instead cultivate the sublime practice "*of expressing the passions in verse, and of enforcing that expression by melody*" (*PT* 202). Jones proposes an Orientalist aesthetic that confounds rational analysis, and he praises this mode of expression for its communication of a pre-cognitive and pre-linguistic awareness of moral truths in nature. Such a poetics is "deduced from a natural emotion of the mind, in which *imitation* could not at all be concerned." Jones depicts the similarity of Orientalist aesthetics to an existing precedent in British poetry: "Where there is vice, which is *detestable* in itself, there must be *hate*, since *the strongest antipathy in nature*, as *Mr. Pope* asserted in his writings, and proved by his whole life, *subsists between the good and the bad*" (205). Jones privileges Pope's method of conveying an abstract moral through the radiation of a sensible harmony: "[the *common sound*] is simple and entire in itself like a *point*, while the . . . [musical *sound*] is always accompanied with other sounds, without ceasing to be *one*; like a *circle*, which is an entire figure, though it is generated by a multitude of points flowing, at equal distances, round a common centre" (206). While Pope's didactic poetry serves as a theoretical model, Jones downplays direct imitation and emphasizes an indirect appeal to the universal subjective ethics of pleasure and pain. Jones's dynamic poetics relies on an imitative technique that Martin Priestman describes as a "synchronic layering of shifting alternatives" in which "all world religions and mythological systems as interrelated, and as equally worthwhile objects of study."[72]

[72] Martin Priestman, *Romantic Atheism: Poetry and freethought, 1780–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999), 53–54.

Not only does Jones aim to harmonize disparate religious and cultural systems, but he also attempts to combine and synthesize naturalistic, neoclassical, and Orientalist modes.

Jones's *Poems* begins with a pair of neoclassical Orientalist imitations ("Solima, An Arabian Eclogue" and "The Palace of Fortune, An Indian Tale"), and proceeds to a pair of poems that influenced libertine imitators such as William Beckford and Lord Byron ("The Seven Fountains, An Eastern Allegory" and "A Persian Song of Hafiz"). Next, Jones features two imitations of the Renaissance pastoral ("An Ode of Petrarch, To the Fountain of Valchiusa" and "Laura, An Elegy from Petrarch"). He follows these with a translation derived from Lady Mary's letters to Pope ("A Turkish Ode of Mesihi"), and then concludes with two imitations of Pope's genre-bending neoclassicism ("Arcadia, A Pastoral Poem" and "Caissa, or, The Game at Chess"). Not only do Jones's final poems explicitly invoke Pope's neoclassical experimentation, but his earlier poems also borrow lines from his seasonal *Pastorals*, *Iliad*, *Rape of the Lock*, *Essay on Man* and *Temple of Fame*. The following paragraphs analyze Jones's neoclassical Orientalist imitations of Pope, attempting to revise Michael Franklin's emphasis on his proto-romantic imagery:

> [Jones] uses Eastern sensuality to explore the aesthetic implications of John Locke's theories of sense perception and Newtonian ideas of colour and light. Jones was providing fascinating materials and formative models for the orientalizing of Landor, Coleridge, Southey, Byron, Shelley, and Moore, their Romantic subjectivity underpinned by footnoted Orientalist objectivity. His proto-Romantic genre experimentation presented these poets with all the requisite apparatus of a textualized Orient culled from a variety of authentic sources. Jones's early poems are replete with spicy odours and musky scents, crystal fountains, caves of ice, damsels in diaphanous robes, and all the sensuous paraphernalia of the sumptuous pleasure dome.[73]

Although Jones does not allude to the high-concept extensions of Locke and Newton in Pope's Scriblerian satire, he borrows his "spicy odours" and "diaphanous" beings from

[73] Franklin, *Orientalist Jones*, 78.

Rape of the Lock. The "caves of ice" and "sumptuous pleasure domes" are indebted to Pope's *Temple of Fame*. Throughout the *Poems*, Jones imitates couplets shared between Pope's *Pastorals*, *Rape of the Lock*, *Iliad*, and *Odyssey* translations. The philosophical and moral poetry of *Essay on Man* constitutes a central influence in Jones's *Poems*, furthermore, and he foregrounds Pope's themes of "Man" and "Nature" in his 1784 inaugural address to the Asiatick Society. Jones follows Pope by leveling the hierarchy of genres and by integrating expressive and didactic elements of poetry.[74] By uncovering Jones's debt to Pope in the *Poems,* this section exposes the hitherto unacknowledged influence of neoclassical aesthetics in his seminal contribution to romantic Orientalism.

Abu Taher Mojumder explains that Jones's *Poems* begins with a "neoclassical group" of two works heavily indebted to Pope's pastoral and mock-heroic poems.[75] This neoclassical group foreshadows Jones's two-part homage to Pope's pastoral and mock-heroic aesthetics at the end of his volume. It also reveals Jones's strategy of sampling and interweaving imitations of Pope's pastoral, mock-heroic, epic, and didactic poetry. The first poem in the neoclassical group, "Solima, An Arabian Eclogue," introduces the synthetic pastiches of Pope that are scattered throughout Jones's *Poems*. In Pope's *Spring* pastoral, the judge (Damon) opens the singing contest between the artful Daphnis and rustic Strephon: "The sing by turns, by turns the Muses sing . . . Begin, the vales shall

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[74] In the preface to his *The history of the life of Nader Shah*, Jones concludes, "if any essential mistakes be detected. . . . *let it be considered*, to use the words of *Pope* in the preface to his juvenile Poems *that there are very few things in this collection, which were not written under the age of five and twenty*"; *The history of the life of Nader Shah, King of Persia. Extracted from an Eastern Manuscript* (London, 1773); Emile Audra and Aubrey Williams state, "Balance and measured imbalance, inversion and antithesis, can be found operating even in this world of breathing roses and rural strains, and show how early Pope had begun to fashion the structures that were later to support more weighty themes. . . . and forecast directly the poet who would later bring Arabia breathing from a box"; *The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope, Vol. 1: Pastoral Poetry & An Essay on Criticism* (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 1961), 55.

[75] See Abu Taher Mojumder, *Sir William Jones: A Poetical Study* (Dacca: Gegum Zakia Sultana, 1978), 41.

ev'ry note rebound" (i.41–44). Jones recreates the echoing scene in Pope's spring pastoral, "Fair Solima! the hills and dales will sing,/ Fair Solima! the distant echoes ring." As Mojumder shows, Jones selectively imitates one couplet from Pope's pastorals ("scene"/"green") that was also mirrored in four separate couplets in his *Iliad* and *Odyssey* translations.[76] Despite his poignant blend of Pope's pastoral and epic poetry in the invocation of "Solima," Jones instead footnotes his distant allusion to *An Epistle to Lord Bathurst, on the Use of Riches*: "It was not easy in this part of the translation to avoid a turn similar to that of Pope in the known description of the Man of Ross" (*PT* n2). Jones emphasizes his imitation of Pope's famous praise of John Kyrle (a celebrated philanthropist and public reformer in the town of Ross-on-Wye), yet he does not identify his more experimental harmonization of lines from Pope's pastoral and epic genres.

Jones began writing the second poem in the neoclassical group on the morning after first meeting Johnson at Oxford in 1769. His "Palace of Fortune, An Indian Tale" adopts the plot of Alexander Dow's "Tale of Roshnana" in *Tales, translated from the Persian of Inatulla of Delhi* (1768).[77] The poem begins when a goddess descends to the pastoral bower of the heroine, Maia.[78] She rouses Maia with an echo of Pope's *Essay on Man* (and another of his "scene/green" couplets): "Awake, sweet maid, and view this charming scene/ For ever beauteous, and for ever green" (*PT* 13). The goddess transports

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[76] Mojumder, *Sir William Jones: A Poetical Study*, 41.

[77] Cannon explains the origins of the poem: "['The Palace of Fortune' is] based on [Alexander] Dow's tale of Roshnara. To Dow's Persian plot, questionably Indian, Jones adds Eastern descriptions and episodes; and by changing the moral, he asserts his right to change any work that he translates. Thus his ambitious maiden sees a series of visions in which Pleasure, Glory, Riches, and Knowledge are granted their wishes, only to be destroyed by the fruits of these wishes. In Oriental fable tradition the maiden learns the vanity of human wishes"; *Oriental Jones*, 48. See also Dow, trans., *Tales, translated from the Persian of Inatulla of Delhi, vol. 2* (London, 1768), 57–104.

[78] Michael Franklin notes the significance of the heroine's name: "The heroine, aptly named Maia—simultaneously suggesting the European 'May,' the Sanskrit *māyā* (the power of illusion), and an Arabic name for the beloved—is shown in an enchanted mirror the youth's bower of libidinous bliss"; Franklin, *Orientalist Jones*, 77.

Maia out of this lonely bower to a court reminiscent of Belinda's toilet in *Rape of the Lock*: "Around the throne a mystick order stand/ The fairy train, and wait her high command" (16). Jones depicts the "thousand nymphs" in the goddess's court as Pope portrays the diaphanous sylphs. While Pope envisions "Transparent forms, too fine for mortal sight/ Their fluid bodies half dissolved in light./ Loose to the wind their airy garments flew,/ Thin glitt'ring textures of the filmy dew," Jones apostrophizes the "Celestial shapes! In fluid light array'd . . . Their lucid mantles glitter'd in the sun . . . Transparent robes, that bore the rainbow's hue" (43–45). Jones depicts the exotic sublimity of the goddess's court, borrowing a couplet found in both *Rape of the Lock* and *Iliad*, in which a (sublime or mock-sublime) "Pray'r" wafts in the "Air" to one of several deities. The interior of the goddess's palace combines the charms of Belinda's toilet with the visionary structures of Pope's *Temple of Fame*. Pope's image ("High on a Rock of Ice the Structure lay") informs Jones's lines on the goddess's palace: "And on a rock of ice by magick rais'd/ High in the midst a gorgeous palace blaz'd" (i.27; *PT* 15). Pope depicts a decorated ceiling: "As Heaven with Stars, the Roof with Jewels glows. . . . The Dome's high Arch reflects the mingled Blaze,/ And forms a Rainbow of Alternate Rays" (i.256–57). Jones borrows his image: "And gems unnumber'd sparkled on the roof,/ On whose blue arch the flaming diamonds play'd/ As on a sky with living stars inlay'd." Insofar as Jones appropriates Pope's lines as a basis for the romantic scenery of the poem, he deploys these exotic representations for a moral purpose. In his poem, the goddess shows Maia images of folly in her magical mirror, before she concludes these visions with a portrait of the "reverend sage" of Honor. This figure channels Pope's *Essay on Man*:

> To nature first my labours were confin'd,
>
> And all her charms were open'd to my mind. . . .

At length sublimer studies I began,

And fix'd my level'd telescope on man;

Knew all his pow'rs, and all his passions trac'd,

What virtue rais'd him, and what vice debas'd. (*PT* 28)

Jones borrows selectively from Pope's neoclassical imitations and serious philosophical poetry, yet he avoided the archive of Scriblerian satire. This avoidance is significant insofar as Pope's Scriblerian works precede Jones's neoclassical Orientalist experiments, and adopt translation for a provocative purpose. Aside from one unfinished text discussed at the end of this section, Jones refrains from either imitating or commenting on Pope's genre. While professional concerns likely motivated his neglect of this suppressed genre, Jones was also temperamentally opposed to Scriblerian forms of philosophical burlesque.

In his essay, "On the Mystical Poetry of the Persians and Hindus," Jones theorizes a mode of materialist abstraction and sublime paradox that transforms apparent burlesque into an esoteric and anamorphic moral poetry. Love embraces stand for piety, painted ladies reveal properties of the Divinity, and "*idolaters*, *infidels*, and *libertines*" embody "men of the purest religion." As he explains, the "sublimity of *mystical allegory* . . . is diminished, if not destroyed, by an attempt at *particular* and *distinct resemblances*; and that style is open to dangerous misinterpretation, while it supplies infidels with a pretext for laughing at religion itself."[79] Jones found support for this rebuttal of burlesque from Lady Mary's letter to Pope, in which she theorizes a manner of neoclassical Orientalism: "Monsieur Boileau has very justly observed, we are never to judge of the elevation of an ancient author by the sound it carries with us; which may be very fine with them, at the same time it looks low or uncouth to us. . . . perhaps the novelty of [the imagery] may

[79] *The Works of Sir William Jones in Six Volumes, vol. 1* (London, 1799), 446.

give [the poem] a burlesque sound in our language."[80] In "The Seven Fountains, An Eastern Allegory," Jones demonstrates the capacity for seemingly burlesque indulgences to support conventional morality. His poem portrays an allegory on the "Life of Man," featuring a protagonist who is shipwrecked on an island where he finds a palace of sensual pleasure. By indulging in the taboo, this protagonist realizes his hosts' attempt to hold him captive. After the protagonist discovers true religion by entering a room in the palace, which his captors had marked off as "A scene of bloody deeds and magick spells" (*PT* 44), he escapes to a nearby island and a palace decked "with no earthly gold!" (68). The paradoxical moral of the tale conforms to the allegorical wonders that epitomize Jones's Orientalist genre. Furthermore, Jones's visionary image of a "sumptuous dome, by hands immortal made" is an implicit allusion to Pope's *Temple of Fame*: "Stupendous Pile! not rear'd by mortal Hands" (i.61–62). Instead of a libertine revelry in this exotic "sumptuous palace," Jones's "Seven Fountains" combines paradox and didactic morality.

The two final poems of Jones's volume consist of explicit imitations of Pope's pastoral and mock-heroic genres. In the first of these poems, "Arcadia," Jones responds to Thomas Tickell and Joseph Addison's critique of Pope's incorporation of foreign

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[80] *Letters from the Right Honourable Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*; 121–23. Franklin describes the origins of Jones's "Turkish Ode of Mesihi": "The *gul ul bulbul*, or rose and nightingale legend was first made available in a Turkish poem which Lady Mary Wortley Montagu had translated and sent to Pope earlier in the century. It was, however, the authoritative influence of Jones's slim volume which made it widely popular, and almost an essential ingredient in every Orientalizing writer's repertoire; in [Samuel Henley's] notes to William Beckford's *Vathek* (1786), for example, it is Jones who is acknowledged as the source for this trope" (*F* 22). Byron tests the limits of Jones's resistance to burlesque in his "Parody on Sir William Jones's Translation from Hafiz—'Sweet Maid etc'"; Jerome McGann, ed. *The Complete Poetical Works of Lord Byron, vol. 1* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 342–44; Franklin, *Sir William Jones*, 9. William Beckford's *Vathek* (1786) also derives its images of Babel from the palace of sensory corruptions in Jones's poem, "The Seven Fountains, An Eastern Allegory." Garland Cannon describes the poem as "based on Ibn 'Arabsháh's allegorical *Fatihatu'l l-Khulafá*. Jones's engrafting of the Agib episode, from Night 57 of the *Arabian Nights Entertainments* . . . a parable of man and his worldly friends similar to *Everyman*. A prince experiences the various pleasures of the senses until rescued by an old man representing religion"; Cannon, *Oriental Jones*, 49. Cf. Beckford, *Vathek, with the Episodes of Vathek*, ed. Kenneth W. Graham (Toronto, ON: Broadview, 2001), 45–48. See Donna Landry, "William Beckford's *Vathek* and the Uses of Oriental Re-enactment," in *The Arabian Nights in Historical Context*, 168.

imitations into his genre of pastoral poetry.[81] Jones recuperates a contest over genre that occurred over a half century earlier. His advertisement proposes that "Arcadia" is taken "from an allegory of Mr. Addison in the thirty second paper of the Guardian; which is set down in the margin, that the reader may see where he has copied the original, and where he has deviated from it" (*PT* 115–16). Jones breaks from Addison and Tickell in praising two Scriblerians as his precedents: "Virgil, whom Pope chiefly followed, seems to have born away the palm of the higher sort; and Spenser, whom Gay imitated with success, had equal merit in the rustic style: these two poets, therefore, may be justly supposed in this allegory to have inherited the kingdom of Arcadia." Whereas Gay's pastoral rusticity flows from his parody of Spenser (*The Shepherd's Week*) and his burlesque of Ambrose Philips's provincial pastoral, Pope's refined mode pertains to his adoption of a courtly Renaissance pastoral, in which poets submerge laborious imitation in their representation of simple, unpretentious swains.[82] In his privileging of the Scriblerians over their rivals, Jones combats Addison's assertion that the poets should not smuggle foreign imitations into familiar forms of poetry. Insofar as Jones does not reconstruct the contexts of Pope and Addison's contests over Orientalist imitation and literary genre, he re-engages this

[81] On 6 April 1713, Richard Steele's *Guardian* printed the first of Thomas Tickell's five essays against foreign imitation in the pastoral. Tickell explains a pastoral state of rational leisure similar to that "wherein God placed *Adam* when in *Paradise*." Tickell's third essay prohibits foreign imitation in the British pastoral. His final essay distinguishes inheritors of Arcadia from interlopers. *Guardian* no. 31 and no. 32 draw a genealogy from Theocritus to Virgil, and from Spenser to Philips. In *Guardian* no. 40, Pope completed Tickell's cycle by ironically condemning his own pastorals. He denies Virgil wrote "*Pastorals*," but imagined them as "*something better*." Pope produces a spurious fragment of "*Pastoral Ballad*" in the "*Somersetshire* Dialect." Pope reprinted this pseudonymous essay in *Guardian* no. 40 in his *Dunciad Variorum*. See Butt, ed. *Poems of Alexander Pope*, 451; See also John Gay, *The Shepherd's Week* (London, 1714), 14, 30; *The Guardian, vol. 1* 2 vols. (London, 1714), 89–132; William Empson, *Some Versions of Pastoral* (New York: New Directions, 1974), 57, 206–208; Andrew V. Ettin, *Literature and the Pastoral* (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 1984), 18.

[82] See Paul Alpers, *What is Pastoral?* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1997); P.K. Elkin, *The Augustan Defense of Satire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).

conflict to favor Pope's virtuosic and imitative pastoral over Addison's contention that modern forms of British literature should be restricted to rational Protestant precedents.

Jones's imitation of *Rape of the Lock*, "Caissa, or, The Game of Chess," is based on a premise that "the invention of Chess is poetically ascribed to Mars, though it is certain that the game was originally brought from India" (*PT* 147). His pastoral imitation of the card game between Belinda and the Baron miniaturizes an epic battle between two heroines named Sirena and Delia. The more refined of two competing swains in Pope's *Spring* pastoral, Daphnis, serves as the judge of Jones's chess match. When Daphnis attempts to aid the losing Sirena, he succumbs to Delia's charms and allows her a "double triumph." The victory resounds in an echo drawn from Pope's *Spring* pastoral: "He hears, where'er he moves, the dreadful sound;/ *Check* the deep vales, and *Check* the woods rebound./ No place remains: he sees the certain fate,/ And yields his throne to ruin, and Checkmate" (*PT* 169–70). Jones footnotes the final lines of the poem ("Low in their chest the mimick troops were lay'd,/ And peaceful slept the sable hero's shade") as "A parody of the last line in Pope's translation of the Iliad, 'And peaceful slept the mighty Hector's shade'." By folding his imitation of a pastoral singing contest in a mock-heroic parody of the *Iliad*, Jones venerates Pope as a genre-conscious and experimentally hybrid poet.

To the extent that Jones's *Poems* are saturated with imitations of Pope, they also show his aversion to the Scriblerian genre. Jones's closest approximation of this genre appears in an unfinished fragment of a poem that Pope himself never finished. The plan of "Britain Discovered" was not published until thirteen years after Jones's death.[83] In Jones's projected imitation of Pope's Brutus epic, he crafted an anti-colonial satire

[83] See Cannon, *Oriental Jones*, 27. Franklin notes Jones's Druid as a figure of conscientious objection to policies of the British government and commercial companies in India: "The enlightened intervention of a Druid on behalf of the Brahmans is reminiscent of classical and contemporary efforts to establish links between Oriental and Celtic philosophers and lawgivers" (*F* 276, 64).

featuring a Tyrian hero who discovers and founds Britain. In the initial books of his epic, the goddess Ganga foresees the consequences of Brutus's voyage in a council of gods:

> his victory will prove the origin of a wonderful nation, who will possess themselves of [India's] banks, profane her waters, mock the temples of the Indian divinities, appropriate the wealth of her adorers, introduce new laws, a new religion, a new government, insult the Bráhmens, and disregard the sacred ordinances of Brahmá. . . . The Indian deities invite those of Tyre and Syria to co-operate with them: prophesying darkly the invasion of their empire by the Cr[u]saders; they excuse themselves, equally averse to the Gauls and to all the nations of Europe.[84]

The poem concludes when a British nation is forged in a pact between an enlightened Celtic Druid and the Tyrian imperial hero, Brutus. In the twelfth book, this Druid reveals his resistance to British attempts to reconstruct the laws and government in India: "he recommends the government of the Indians by their own laws. He then flies, his object being attained, to the celestial regions; they apply themselves to the regulation of their domain and the happiness of their subjects." The plan of "Britain Discovered" suggests Jones's condemnation of East India Company corruption. It also engages efforts to vilify the East India Company in the House of Commons, where Burke pursued campaigns to abolish the local judicature in Bengal and Wales (the site of Jones's ancestry and his philanthropic legal practice), and also to restrict the legal influence of the East India Company (this campaign began in the year of Jones's appointment). The plan of Jones's poem is distinguished for its optimistic conclusion, but also for its serious resistance to imperialist legal structures. While he has been identified as a founder of modern Orientalism, Jones's efforts as a translator were also motivated by this anti-imperialist sentiment. We might conceive of this complex irony through a counterfactual premise, which both preserves Jones's formative importance in the history of British Orientalism

[84] Lord Teignmouth, ed. *The Works of Sir William Jones, vol. 2* (London, 1807), 445–52.

and also unsettles the teleological conflation of his scholarship with the imperialist attitudes that increasingly dominated this field. What if Jones could have pursued a career without having to appease contemporary bias against Orientalism? Furthermore, what if he had been less constrained in his attempts as an imitator of Pope's Scriblerian satire?

Jones justified his scholarly endeavors within the confines of an objective scientific discourse, and refrained from controversial literary and speculative variants. Even though Jones did not generate a precedent for satirical and anti-imperialist scholarship, romantic writers employed his canon as a source of provocative thought-experiments. We might consider the extent to which his invention of the "Asiatick Society" pursued a vector of Popian influence as far as was permissible. In his 1784 "Discourse on the Institution of a Society, for Inquiring into the History, Civil and Natural, the Antiquities, Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia," Jones outlines a club devoted to Orientalist learning: "If now it be asked, what are the intended objects of our inquiries within these spacious limits, we answer, MAN and NATURE; whatever is performed by one, or produced by the other." In the 1733 Advertisement to *An Essay on Man*, Pope declared a similar intent: "*This, which we give the Reader, treats of the* Nature and State of MAN, *with respect to the* UNIVERSAL SYSTEM; *the rest will treat of him with respect to* his OWN SYSTEM, *as an* Individual, *and as a* Member of Society; *under one or the other of which Heads all Ethicks are included*." By acknowledging this ethical strain of Jones's project, we distinguish his legacy from that of nineteenth-century "anti-Orientalist 'Anglicists'," who emphasized "the inherent inferiority of all things Indian."[85]

[85] Varisco highlights the backlash of "anti-Orientalist 'Anglicists'" against academics such as Jones, whom they saw as "glorifying India—in effect, valuing India over Britain." He counters Said's critique of Jones: "Said ends up visiting the sins of avowedly anti-Oriental administrators on the very scholars who stood against them. This is a major methodological blunder—published sources on Jones and this period of colonial history were widely available. Said made no attempt to use archival sources, even published letters and memoirs, to determine if a single isolated quote reflected a pattern in an author's corpus. The one extensive quote he provides of Jones, for example, is taken from a secondary source rather than from the

We also view his adaptation of Pope in a society that supplemented his institutional role as a judge. While professional employment expanded his affordances for progressive reform, it also prevented him from the contexts of Scriblerian satire that plagued fellow Orientalists in Britain. The next section briefly discusses two scholars stigmatized as Scriblerian Orientalists. One of these is Richard Watson—a clergyman and chemist who controversially proposed an institute for Orientalist translation at Cambridge University. Johnson and Jones both read Watson's radical political treatises and essays on experimental chemistry. While Johnson cited Imlac of *Rasselas* to mock his researches,[86] Jones corresponded with Watson and later lamented that he discontinued his studies at the request of orthodox detractors.[87] The argument below analyzes Thomas Mathias's use of Scriblerian Orientalism as a strategy to mock Watson's domestic Orientalist projects.

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original essay"; *Said and the Unsaid*, 127–28. Edward Said writes, "[A pioneer] in the field [of Orientalism]. . . . Jones was already a master of Arabic, Hebrew, and Persian [before he left for England for India in 1783]. These seemed perhaps the least of his accomplishments: he was also a poet, a jurist, a polyhistor, a classicist, and an indefatigable scholar whose powers would recommend him to Benjamin Franklin, Edmund Burke, William Pitt, and Samuel Johnson. In due course he was appointed to 'an honorable and profitable place in the Indies,' and immediately upon his arrival there to take up a post with the East India Company began the course of personal study that was to gather in, to rope off, to domesticate the Orient and thereby turn it into a province of European learning"; *Orientalism*, 8, 77–78.

[86] Boswell describes Johnson's reading of Watson's scholarship en route to Scotland in the summer of 1781: "[he] talked little to us in the carriage, being chiefly occupied in reading Dr. Watson's second volume of *Chemical Essays*, which he liked very well, and his own [*Rasselas*] *Prince of Abyssinia*, on which he seemed to be intensely fixed. . . . He pointed out to me the following remarkable passage: 'By what means (said the prince) are Europeans thus powerful; or why, since they can so easily visit Asia and Africa for trade or conquest, cannot the Asiaticks and Africans invade their coasts, plant colonies in their ports, and give laws to their natural princes? The same wind that carries them back would bring us thither.' 'They are more powerful, Sir, than we (answered Imlac,) because they are wiser. Knowledge will always predominate over ignorance, as man governs the other animals.' . . . He said, 'This, Sir, no man can explain otherwise'" (*J* 1155–56). Imlac emphasizes Europe's ascendancy, positioning himself outside the European realms of Reason and Religion: "When I compared these men with the natives of our own kingdom, and those that surround us, they appeared almost another order of beings" (*R* 529). Johnson measures Watson's *Chemical Essays* against the rational guidance of Imlac: "Ye who listen with credulity to the whispers of fancy, and persue with eagerness the phantoms of hope . . . attend the history of Rasselas prince of Abissinia" (*R* 505).

[87] While in Calcutta and Bengal, Jones studied Watson's *Chemical Essays* and fancied himself "as another *Abūsina* [Avicenna]" (*LJ* ii.n681). Watson and Jones corresponded with one another in June 1785, when the former sought answers to provocative "questions about possible Indian accounts of man's fall and the Flood, any Judaic elements in the caste system, possible relating of the Indian population to Noah's

THOMAS JAMES MATHIAS AND THE STIGMA OF SCRIBLERIAN ORIENTALISM

In the tumultuous three years leading up to Jones's departure for India, the most forceful proponents for Orientalist institutions in Britain were stigmatized as avatars of Martinus Scriblerus. Three years prior to Jones's departure, Thomas James Mathias satirized comparative scholarship in Britain in *A Dissertation by Martinus Scriblerus, on the Utility and Importance of Oriental Languages* (1780). Mathias targets two particular Orientalist scholars: John Richardson and Richard Watson.[88] Mathias restates their goals of popularizing Orientalist translation as a Scriblerian scheme to uproot classical values and undermine national identity. Mathias also defines Pope as Britain's "great moral and national Poet," and he emphasizes the necessity of such a Tory representative during the present age of revolution: "Government and Literature are now more than ever intimately connected."[89] Contemporary literary critics often underestimate the immense popularity of the reactionary Augustan aesthetics promoted by poets such as Mathias. At the same time, they also often take for granted the conservative caricature of Pope disseminated by these writers during the late eighteenth century.[90] According to Mathias and his Anti-

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stock, and Graeco-Indian manufacturing and commerce" (ii.n681). In the framework of Watson's speculative Orientalist philology, Jones's researches might enable discoveries concerning the history of humankind, radical possibilities for interpreting the Bible, and methods of progressive social improvement. Jones promoted the politics of Watson's pro-American sermon, *Principles of the Revolution Vindicated*, and he praised the patriotic sonnet to Watson composed by his friend, Edmund Cartwright. Jones discouraged Watson's *Apology for Christianity* on pragmatic grounds, however. He advised Althorp: "not to busy yourself too much with controversies of that nature. Our religion is probable in a high degree . . . besides, it is venerable, salutary, and part of the laws of our country" (*LJ* i.224). When Watson discontinued his research at the behest of detractors, Jones remarked in private: "I am surprised that a man of Dr. Watson's strong intellects has given up his divine study in compliance with the nonsense of his brethren" (ii.753). See *Sonnets to Eminent Men and an Ode to the Earl of* Effingham (London, 1783), 6.

[88] Jones aided Richardson, a linguist and lexicographer, in his *Grammar of the Arabic Language* (1776) and his *Dictionary, Persian, Arabic, and English* (1777). He also corresponded with Watson—a Royal Society chemist, former Regius professor of divinity at Cambridge, current Archdeacon of Ely, and prospective Bishop of Llandaff.

[89] Thomas Mathias, *The Shade of Alexander Pope on the Banks of the Thames* (London, 1799), 10; Mathias, *The Pursuits of Literature* (London, 1798), 5.

[90] Gary Dyer suggests that it requires a "leap for our historical imagination" to conceive of the "esteem many critics felt for the satires of [William] Gifford (1756–1827) and Mathias (1754?–1835), two poets who were frequently linked on the basis of their conservatism, their praise for each other, their shared

Jacobin peers, Pope employed the Scriblerian persona merely to ridicule contemptible dunces. Unlike literary critics such as Johnson and Warton, Mathias did not question the dogmatic conservatism of Pope's didactic poetry. Whether or not Mathias was anxious to institutionalize a particular version of Pope's legacy, we might read against the grain of his satire to reconstruct the open secret of an Orientalism with implications regarding the cultural and ideological import of the British literary canon. Mathias interpreted literature as a form of moral and national instruction. The composition and interpretation of the canon were matters of concern to Mathias. Pope not only offered Britain a powerful connection to the classical canon, but he also contrived a mode of Orientalist pedantry.

Before we turn to Mathias's *Dissertation, by Martinus Scriblerus*, let us consider what his two primary Scriblerian Orientalists understood as the utility and importance of Orientalist research. In the *Dissertation on the Languages, Literature, and Manners of Eastern Nations* that introduced his *Dictionary, Persian, Arabic, and English* (1777–80), John Richardson declares the need to deconstruct an entrenched Eurocentric rationalist tradition that has been founded on historical misprision, ideological manipulation, and intellectual myopia. Such evils have justified the suppression of Oriental literature in the institutional pedagogy of Britain.[91] Richardson calls for an enlarged study of languages and cultures, and he also attacks the pride of Europeans who marginalize such pursuits. Richardson criticized scholars "whose want of knowledge in the languages of the East has produced much false reasoning; whilst their attachment to system has heaped error upon error, and raised splendid fabrics upon pillars of ice" (*D* i). Richardson criticizes the narrow-mindedness of rationalist philosophers: "Man, in the aggregate, is too irregular to

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enthusiasm for personal attacks, and their concern with the political implications of literary trends." Dyer, *British Satire and the Politics of Style, 1789–1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997), 23.

[91] John Richardson, *A Dictionary Persian, Arabic, and English* (Oxford, 1777), xxv, xvi–xvii. Further references cited *D*.

be reduced to invariable laws" (viii). He also emphasizes falsifications of historians who exemplify "the partiality of mankind for their country, their party, their opinions." Finally, he condemns the neglect of Orientalist translations, "whose narratives, though rational, are repugnant to those which we have been accustomed to receive" (ix). Richardson's critique recapitulates the philosophical satire of *Essay on Man*, insofar as it aims to expose anthropocentric and ethnocentric definitions of humankind's "invariable" reason. He claims that these objective, scientific, and systematic studies have fostered delusional structures "not founded in nature." The "splendid fabrics" raised on "pillars of ice" seem to recall both the visionary structure of Pope's *Temple of Fame* as well as the crumbling ruin that Johnson invokes in his critique of Pope's *Essay on Man* ("*the hand which cannot build a hovel, may demolish a temple*"). Richardson frames Eurocentric philosophers and historians as dunces whose false frauds will be exposed by an emergent field of Orientalist translation. He offers three positive appeals for a new area of study: eastern manuscripts will cast light on ancient history and mythology, explain how European civilization was derived from Asian ones, and dispel the pride of dogmatists, philosophers, and historians. Richardson had been attempting to promote his Orientalist scholarship since the early 1770s, when he and his brother William had served as the printers of William Jones's *A Grammar of the Persian Language* (1771). Jones was disappointed with their failure to secure financial aid from the East India Company for an edition of the Turkish, Arabic, and Persian entries from the *Thesaurus* of Franciscus Meninski (1628–98). He encouraged Richardson's persistence in the face of neglect, and aided his research for the scholarly edition of a *Dictionary, Persian, Arabic, and English*.

On the 9th and 10th of May, 1780, Richard Watson addressed the Archdeaconry of Ely concerning a provocative proposition "*that an institution established at Cambridge, for the express purpose of translating and publishing Oriental Manuscripts* . . . would

redound to the credit of the University; and tend to put the learned world in possession of a very valuable part of literature, of which at present we have but a very imperfect knowledge."[92] Watson lays out the elementary principles of a global reform, which will be attained by scholars who "step a little perhaps out of the ordinary road" in their toleration of Orientalist learning: "Many of you, I fear, will look upon the project as too vast and visionary, to be attended with success; but knowing, that the most complicated machines are put in motion upon the simplest principles. . . . I will lay before you without further preface, a few thoughts on the encouragement of Oriental literature" (*DC* 2). Watson addresses the present stakes of an Oriental Renaissance in Britain, and he cites an opportunity to capitalize on a growing interest in Orientalist learning and Oriental aesthetics. He alludes to anti-Orientalist bias, however, as an obstruction to beneficial learning: "Who would give himself the trouble to read the philosophy of Aristotle, as illustrated by an Arab? Who would form his historical creed from the tales of Persia? Who would employ his time in finding out the morality contained in Oriental proverbs, or think of soothing the anxieties incident to human life by perusing Arabian poetry?" (*DC* 4). Watson insists, "Objections such as these have no force. We yet know nothing, or next to nothing, of the treasures of eastern learning."[93] He reverses a stigma against his opposition, stating that they have been corrupted by a "slavish subserviency to the uniform prejudices of the age or country, in which they happen to be born; to men of this

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[92] Richard Watson, *A discourse delivered to the clergy of the Archdeaconry of Ely, on May 9th and 10th, by Richard Watson, D.D. F.R.S. Regius Professor of Divinity of Cambridge and Archdeacon of Ely* (Cambridge, 1780), 5. Further references cited *DC*.

[93] Watson interpreted Orientalist scholarship as an immediate spur to reform in Britain. By employing foreign and domestic translators, his proposed institution would be fiscally sustainable, and it would foster the promotion and preservation of human civilization. He justifies the enterprise: "God forbid, that the search of truth should be discouraged for fear of its consequences! the consequences of truth may be subversive of systems of superstition; but they never can be injurious to the rights, or well-founded expectations of the human race" (*DC* 10). He offers fiscal arguments as well: "The public expence, attending to the maintenance of such a society, would be as but a drop in the ocean, compared with what is annually expended for less beneficial purposes" (17).

complexion every attempt to investigate the nature of the earth or the history of its inhabitants will appear a chimerical undertaking, originating in idle speculation, and terminating in useless conjecture."[94] Instead of fearing the consequences of an emergent Orientalism, Watson claims that his audience ought to be wary of the trust they place in a government and aristocracy given to "unnatural" vices of avarice, plunder, violence, and destruction. In 1780, Watson's comparative premise regarding the relationship of Eastern and Western learning must have shocked his Tory audience: "If Britain should in the course of two or three thousand years sink into that state of Barbarism, in which Caesar found it, yet it is probable that from a similarity of customs then subsisting in England, and America, a philosopher might investigate a common origin" (*DC* 14). He ventures into heterodox speculation, arguing for the existence of documents related to the Deluge that show a common origin and pastoral condition of humankind (6–8). He recommends an endeavor to translate extant manuscripts as a platform for "perfecting our knowledge of the Natural History of the Globe, and of the Civil History of the Human species" (17).

Thomas Mathias responded to Watson's proposed institution in *A Heroic Address in Prose to the Rev. Richard Watson*, a treatise included in his anonymous *Watsoniana* (1781). Mathias questions the wisdom and sincerity of Watson's pastoral guidance:

> My dear Archdeacon, can you really think, and declare it openly with composed unaltered muscles, as your settled opinion, that a promiscuous assembly of *Fen* curates can be accurately versed in *Arabian* literature? Can you conceive it indispens[a]bly necessary to the due discharge of their pastoral office, that they should '*believe* that many monuments of Grecian literature *may be* preserved in

[94] He explains, "The mouldering hand of time has, indeed, defaced some of the most precious monuments of antiquity; and those few things which might have escaped the natural vicissitudes of human things, have been utterly destroyed by the desolation of unnatural war. The pestilent ambition of a few bad men, has left us in a state of irremediable ignorance, I fear, concerning the mutual dependencies of different nations, the primeval population of the globe, and the intellectual improvement of the human race" (*DC* 9).

> Arabic translations.' You observe indeed with truth that 'no language had so extensive *a spread* as the *Arabic* after the victories of Mahomet.[95]

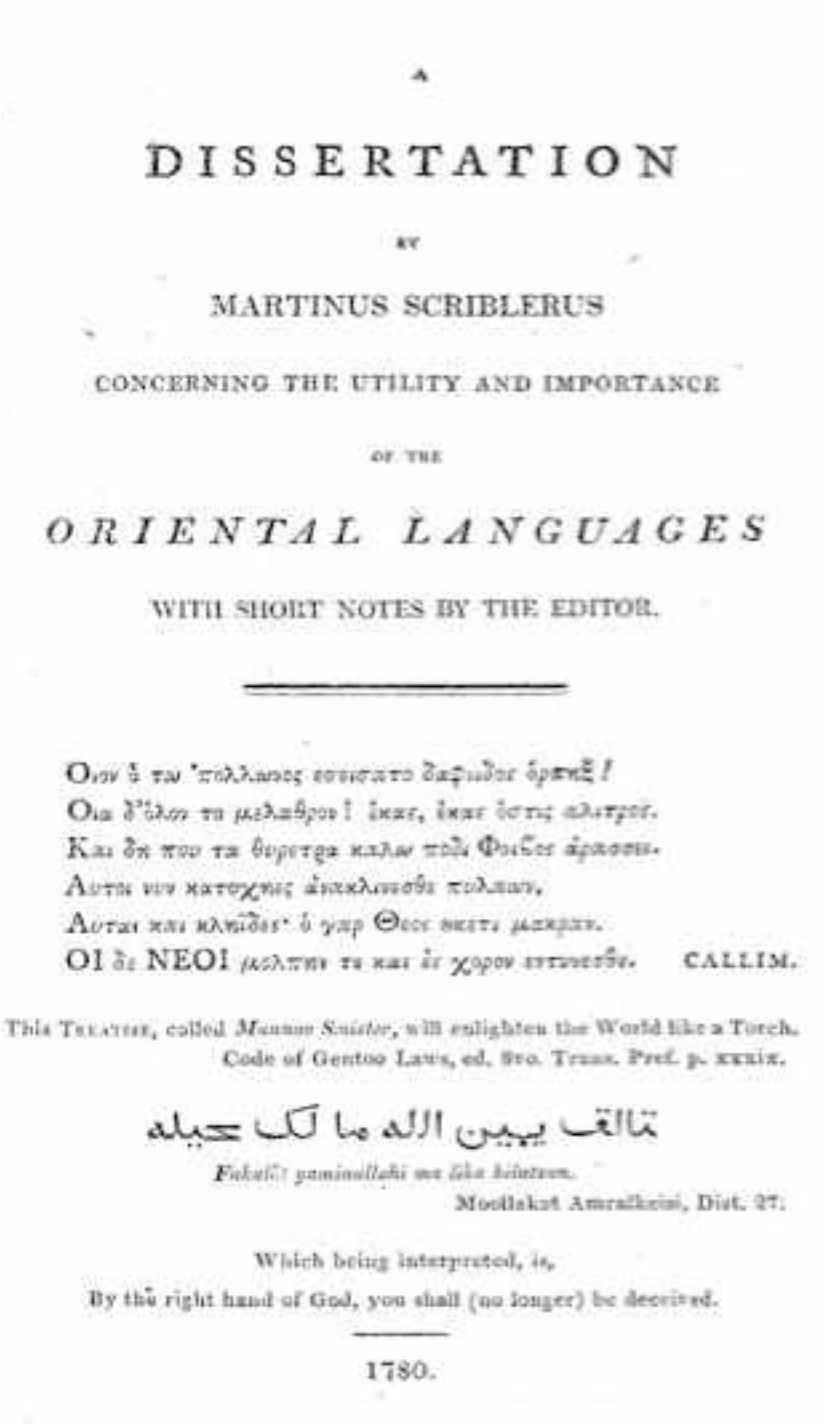
Mathias instead urges a georgic improvement to transform the landscape of England:

> As to your elegant substantive *spread*, I remember Mr. Addison says somewhere to this effect: 'I have got a fine *spread of improveable lands*, and am already ploughing up some, and fencing others': for my part, might an unhallowed man presume to advise your sacred hearers, I could wish they would apply themselves to the *improvement* of their insular undrained lands, than to set out on a roving commission, for the purpose of turning up the furrows of an Arabian desert with an ineffectual plough. (*W* 63–64)

According to Mathias, Watson embodies Martinus Scriblerus's "roving commission" for curious learning: "lo! Wonders from the WEST—Wonders from the EAST—you bring into actual existence the visionary labours of a Scriblerus, and we may indulge a fond pleasing hope, that one day you 'will bless the world with a more exact survey on the deserts of Arabia and Tartary than hitherto we have been able to obtain'" (*W* 60). Insofar as Mathias adopts Addison's georgic national ideology to mock Watson as a Scriblerian pedant, he adopts the perspective of Pope's rivals. If he understood Pope and Addison's rivalry over foreign imitation (or read Jones's imitation of this rivalry in "Arcadia"), Mathias would have been aware that his satire had distorted the facts of literary history.

Mathias's *Dissertation, by Martinus Scriblerus* accuses Watson and Richardson of mocking the Old Testament in their emulation of "that learned and polished nation *the Hindoos*, which tends to create more sublime and rational notions than those which some

[95] Mathias, *An Heroic Address in prose to the Rev. Richard Watson D.D. F.R.S.* in *Watsoniana* (London, 1781), 63–4. Further references cited *W*. W.L. Bowles encouraged Baroness Howe's 1807 destruction of Pope's gardens: "By cutting down half the trees, and feeding the lawn and pleasure-ground with sheep, the place would be more profitable, more natural, and infinitely more beautiful"; *Works of Alexander Pope, Vol. 1* (London, 1806), n.lvii.


A

DISSERTATION

BY

MARTINUS SCRIBLERUS

CONCERNING THE UTILITY AND IMPORTANCE

OF THE

ORIENTAL LANGUAGES

WITH SHORT NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

Οιον ὁ των 'πολλωνος εστησατο δαφνινος ὀρεκτ!
Οια δ'ιλιον τα μελαθρα! ἰκαν, ἰκαν ὁστις αλητης.
Και δη που τα θυρετρα καλων ποθι Φοιβος ἀρασσει.
Αυτοι νυν κατοχης ἀνακλινεσθε πολαων,
Αυται και κληιδες· ὁ γαρ Θεος ουκετι μακρην.
OI δε NEOI μολπην τε και ἐς χορον εστασσθε. CALLIM.

This Treatise, called *Mamun Sastur*, will enlighten the World like a Torch.
Code of Gentoo Laws, ed. 8vo. Trans. Pref. p. xxxix.

تالق يمين الله ما لک حيله

Fakalk yaminallahi ma lak hilatun.

Moallakat Amralkeisi, Dist. 27.

Which being interpreted, is,
By the right hand of God, you shall (no longer) be deceived.

1780.

12. Frontispiece, Thomas James Mathias, *A Dissertation by Martinus Scriblerus concerning the Utility and Importance of Oriental Languages* (London, 1780).

ignorant Pretenders to science have adopted from Moses."[96] Mathias satirically praises the ascendancy of Richardson and Watson's new model of Orientalist scholarship:

> Lo! the day-star of the Orient beams diffusive splendor! they come, they come; Sons of the morning! Lords of the *new* Ascendant! Richardson and Watson! . . . They trample with just indignation on the *meager* productions of Athens. . . . the Persian speaks; he waves his magic wand; and lo, the visionary fabric of Grecian structure dissolves, like the icy-pillar'd dome before the ray of Mithras. (176–78)

Mathias reverses Richardson's claim that Western rationalists raise "splendid fabrics upon pillars of ice." He further alludes to Edward Pococke Jr.—the Latin translator of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*—as the first scholar who had let "the Orientals be the great guides." Mathias also invokes the donkey of Pope's *Dunciad* frontispiece in order to mock a field of scholarship that would require "SIXTY CAMELS *to carry the Dictionaries alone*" (168–69). His satire portrays Scriblerus cursing censors who dare uproot his Orientalist learning: "May no one ever attempt to destroy the *generous* stock; may it pullulate for ever with increasing vigour. But should any unholy Goth presume to lift his hand against it, it will bloom even in destruction; and . . . impart even to the edge of the unfeeling axe its aromatic flavour" (184). Mathias likely drew this image of Scriblerus cursing censors out of the Double Mistress chapters and the final appendix of the *Dunciad Variorum*.[97]

In his *Dissertation, by Martinus Scriblerus*, Mathias circumscribes Orientalist scholarship in a framework of reactionary and xenophobic satire.[98] He displays Scriblerus

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[96] Mathias, *Watsoniana*, 172; On 'origin' myths of eighteenth-century pseudo-classicism, see G.F.C. Plowden, *Pope on Classic Ground* (Athens, OH: Ohio Univ. Press, 1983), 38; Howard Erskine-Hill, "Pope on the Origins of Society" in *Enduring Legacy*, 79–93, 79.

[97] The editor of the *Memoirs* explains that Scriblerus "expressly directed that not one Word of [the Double Mistress chapters] should be alter'd" (*MS* 146). A final appendix to the *Dunciad Variorum*, entitled "By the Author a Declaration," warns against "clipping coining, defacing the images, mixing their own base alloy, or otherwise falsifying the same, which they publish, utter, and vend as genuine" (A 458–9). Pope "strictly enjoin[s] and forbid[s] any person or persons whatsoever to erase, reverse, or put between hooks, or by any means directly or indirectly change or mangle any [words of the text]" (*A* 459).

[98] Mathias cites an Arabic inscription from the *Moollakat* of Amralkeisi, promising readers: "By the right hand of God, you shall (no longer) be deceived." He alludes to Richardson's explanation: "The prince Amralkeis, a cotemporary of Mohammed, was one of the most celebrated Arabian poets; and the author of

as an imposing revolutionary: "Hear, ye *Occidental* Sceptics! Bow before this learned Bramin, and lament your *State of irremediable ignorance* in these glorious eastern tongues!" (*W* 174). At the conclusion of his *Dissertation, by Martinus Scriblerus*, Mathias ironically proclaims the world-shattering import of Scriblerian Orientalism:

> I have now descanted sufficiently on the utility and importance of the Oriental Languages, to prove how futile all the objections must be which witlings and false philosophers would raise against the immortal works of such sons of mine as a Watson and a Richardson. How absurd to cultivate those false models of writing, the idle boast of Greece and Rome, in preference to the lore of inmost Asia, the treasures yet unexplored, the philosophy of hoary Bramins and venerable Pundits. May the Shanscritta, the Persian, the Arabian tongues become the darling objects of the literary hope of Albion; may they renounce the vanities of former ages; and as to the Language of Palestine, the *Hebrew dialect*, may it sink into deserved and universal contempt, as no man, *in this enlightened age*, could with propriety pore over a language which possesses but ONE BOOK, whose tenets and doctrine every wise man hath long since refused to embrace. What is the tinsel of an Isaiah, or an Ezechiel, the idle modulations of the Mosaic Job, or the frantic visions of a Daniel when compared with the energy of a Firdousi, the sterling bullion of an Ebu'l Fared, the sonorous melody of an Hafezi, or the hallowed transports of Arabia's Prophet? Henceforth may the powers displayed in the climes of the South be no longer had in remembrance; let the North and West bow with willing submission before the Genius of all-conquering Asia! // *There* the warm planet ripens and sublimes/ The well-bak'd beauties of those favour'd climes:/ *Our Phoebus* is a bungler in his trade;/ His keenest arrows are in ASIA made. (*W* 189–90)

As Mathias's Scriblerus ironically privileges "the lore of inmost Asia" to "false models of writing, the idle boast of Greece and Rome," he also parodies Watson's theories of the Deluge to urge that the "*Hebrew dialect*" and the Old Testament "sink into deserved and

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one of the most celebrated of the most famous poems . . . called *Moollakat*, which, on account of their superior excellence, were hung in the temple of Mecca. In this poem *Allah* occurs; where it never could have appeared, had it been an innovation of Mohammed. Two reasons seem to be conclusive: *first*, The rooted aversion and contempt that prince ever entertained for the prophet and his religion, which would have made him despise the idea of adopting any thing originating from him; and *secondly*, The certainty that this poem must have been written, and suspended in the Kaaba before Mohammed's public appearance; or at least before he had obtained influence sufficient with the Arabians, to make them depart from established usages"; *Dictionary Persian, Arabic, and English*, xxiv. Mathias's frontispiece also cites Nathaniel Halhed Brassey's *A code of Gentoo laws, or, the ordinations of the pundits, from a Persian translation, made from the original, written in the Shanscrit Language* (1776): "This treatise . . . will enlighten the World like a Torch."

universal contempt." Mathias uses this metaphor in his *Heroic Address*, which explains that antediluvian Oriental tales have persisted while others have not: "in the *shipwreck* of a *state*, *Trifles* float and are preserved; while every thing *solid* and valuable sinks to the bottom, and is lost forever" (*W* 99). In Lord Byron's most famous prose contribution to the Pope controversy, he adapts this image of a national Deluge, from which only Pope's archive will be preserved. Mathias's reading list of Orientalist authors foreshadows Byron's reading list in 1807: "*Arabia*.—Mahomet, whose Koran contains some of the most sublime poetical passages, far surpassing European poetry. *Persia*.—Ferdousi, author of the Shah Nameh, the Persian Iliad—Sadi, and Hafiz, the immortal Hafiz, the oriental Anacreon."[99] Mathias concludes Scriblerus's *Dissertation* with an apocalyptic mock-paean to Orientalist literature. Similarly, Mathias closes his *Heroic Address* to Watson with a parallel attempt at anti-Orientalist parody: "WEAVE the warp and weave the woof,/ The web of ZOROASTER'S Race;/ Give ample room and verge enough/ The characters of Ind to trace" (*W* 99). Mathias concludes, "The web is wove; the mighty work is completed; methinks the auspicious aera, the new Hijra, is arrived! The glorious dew already gilds the Eastern clouds! The favoring winds already blow Sabaean odours from the spicy shore of Araby, and chear me with their grateful exhalations!" (99–100).

While Mathias began his career satirizing Scriblerian Orientalists, he later carried out a campaign against radical Popian imitators in *The Pursuits of Literature: A Satirical Poem in Four Dialogues* (1794–98).[100] At the turn of the century, Mathias targeted

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[99] See Thomas Moore, ed., *The Life of Lord Byron: with his letters and journals* (London, 1851), 49.

[100] An 1842 review in *Gentleman's Magazine* recalls the *Pursuits*: "There was . . . an affectation of mystery and importance that pervaded the whole body of that work, which was attractive by the singularity of its language . . . and dark insinuations of danger to those who attempted to discover the author's retreat." He explains, "As a citizen his aim was to support the venerable institutions of the country against the open attacks, or insidious attempts, of their enemies; he defended the constitution against republicans and revolutionists; and our established religion against atheists and infidels"; "The Author of *The Pursuits of Literature*," *Gentleman's Magazine* (February 1842), 123–39, 125.

Jacobin and Catholic plots among Irish nationalists in his *Shade of Alexander Pope on the Banks of the Thames* (1799).[101] Despite his considerable popularity in the 1790s, Mathias's poetry was conspicuously absent from the later debates of the Pope controversy, aside from Byron's claim that his *Pursuits of Literature* was "notoriously, as far as poetry goes, the worst written of its kind."[102] As the next chapter shows, Mathias anticipated the romantic Pope controversy as early as 1797, when he explicitly condemned Warton's reprinting of the Double Mistress episode. Warton's revelation of the open secret of Scriblerian Orientalism sparked a firestorm of controversy that shaped the subsequent canon of British literature. Insofar as scholars of eighteenth-century literature have not yet regarded the phenomenon of Scriblerian Orientalism, they have also downplayed the anxiety and misprisions that accompanied Pope's reception. I have attempted to show that suppression did not dispel the threat of Pope's Scriblerian archive, but it instead enabled conservative advocates such as Mathias to flaunt knowledge of a subversive pedantry that was diligently bowdlerized by authoritative editors and critics.

While praising Warburton's orthodox reading of Pope, Mathias inadvertently drew attention to the Scriblerian Orientalism of the suppressed Double Mistress episode. Warburton's edition had contributed to an open secret that challenged and empowered Pope's Scriblerian imitators and critics. Sterne explicitly imitated Pope's Indian and Scriblerian pedant in *Tristram Shandy*, unrepressing the complex form of the *Memoirs*

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[101] See Emerson Robert Loomis, "The Turning Point in Pope's Reputation: A Dispute Which Preceded the Bowles–Byron Controversy," *Philological Quarterly*, 42.2 (1963): 242–48, 242–45; William Burdon, *A Vindication of Pope and Grattan, from the Attack of an Anonymous Defamer* (London, 1799).

[102] Rowland Edmund Prothero, ed., *The Works of Lord Byron, vol 2* (London, 1898), 14; See also Dyer, *British Satire and the Politics of Style*, 8–67; Stuart Andrews, *The British Periodical Press and the French Revolution, 1789–99* (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 82; M.O. Grenby, *The Anti-Jacobin Novel*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001), 206–8, 176–77; Kenneth R. Johnston, "Romantic Anti-Jacobins or Anti-Jacobin Romantics?" *Romanticism on the Net* 15 (1999); Emily Lorraine de Montluzin, *The Anti-Jacobins, 1798–1800* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 6; See "The Loves of the Triangles: A Mathematical and Philosophical Poem" in *The Anti-Jacobin; or, Weekly Examiner, Vol. II* (London, 1799); Cf. Erasmus Darwin, *The Loves of the Plants* (London, 1789).

Warburton bowdlerized. Johnson used the suppression of the Double Mistress to deform Pope's private character and public poetry in his "Life of Pope." Johnson also crafted a philosophical genre of oriental tale as a counter to Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism, though he denied its influence and repressed his knowledge of Joseph Spence's unpublished *Anecdotes*. Spence's suppressed volume portrayed a controversial image of Pope, which was shared in private among critics in the famous Turk's Head Club. The president of the Turk's Head from 1780–83, William Jones adapted Pope's experimental neoclassicism in his new genres of literary Orientalism. Jones's avoidance of Scriblerian burlesque may be read as both an intuitive and calculated decision. During his final three years in Britain, Jones was not only surrounded by Pope's critics at the Turk's Head Club, but he faced the threat of an anonymous satirist who brandished the Scriblerian open secret in anti-Orientalist satire. Mathias's *Dissertation, by Martinus Scriblerus* seems to publicize and distort the open secret. According to François, the open secret functions as a "futureless secret—a knowledge that auditors and speaker alike are meant to continue to overlook rather than exploit."[103] We might question whether Mathias exploits a renovated form of Scriblerian Orientalism, and departs from what François calls an "ethics of reading" the "waste and disavowal" of the open secret: "For even when known, the open secret continues to insist, at some level, on *not* mattering." In contrast to Mathias's instrumental variant of anti-Orientalist parody, we might consider whether his performance epitomizes the open secret, for it discounts Warburton's suppression and flaunts evidence of Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism. In this sense, Mathias's Scriblerian *Dissertation* represents a broader "scene of instruction that asks us to bracket rather than give consequence to what we learn." While "the open secret occasions a narrative lapse in development that looks

[103] François, *Open Secret*, 133.

like a moral lapse of knowledge—a violation of the Enlightenment imperative that we act on what we know," I instead contend that the Scriblerian Orientalism of the Double Mistress persisted on the margins of Pope's archive, although critics and imitators did not claim explicit knowledge of its existence.[104] While they indirectly acknowledged their knowledge through a variety of formal inventions and strategic disavowals, these writers generated an ambivalent and ambiguous discourse regarding Pope's legacy. With a new perspective on this uneasy and uneven reception, let us now turn to a scene of exposure.

[104] Ibid., 135.

Chapter 4: Scriblerian Orientations of the Romantic-era "Pope Controversy"

In one of the few studies of Scriblerian satire's influence on early-nineteenth century British literature, Judith Hawley argues that imitations of Pope's *Dunciad* proliferated in a newly corporatized metropolitan print market: "Grub Street survived in all its dingy glory as a symbol of the conjunction of art and commerce."[1] Hawley shows a "long line of poems which employ Scriblerian techniques and tropes in the Romantic period," yet she contends that this "second Grub Street" produced derivative and diluted Scriblerian imitations that lack "the thickness of description, the rich and multi-layered complexity of literal descriptions and figurative significations" of Pope's original.[2] While the following argument traces a separate trajectory of controversial Scriblerian influence in romantic-era Britain, it reworks Hawley's metaphor of a superficial aesthetics built upon the dissemination, fragmentation, and ruin of Pope's precedent. As opposed to tracing the dissipation of Scriblerian satire in a popular cottage industry, I show how formerly censored and suppressed Scriblerian texts re-entered authoritative editions of Pope and significantly impacted the reception of his works. My argument challenges a prevailing literary critical assertion that romantic-era poets rejected Pope's rigid and mechanistic poetics in favor of a revolutionary expressive and subjective mode. I contend that, while critics emphasized the formalism of Pope's verse, they also employed Scriblerian satire to justify attacks on his licentious artifice and subversive immorality. By reconstructing the landmark controversy inspired by the return of a Scriblerian Pope,

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[1] Judith Hawley, "Grub Street in Albion: or, Scriblerian Satire in the Romantic Metropolis" *Romanticism* 14.2 (2008): 81–93, 81.

[2] "Poems are palimpsests, written over the surface of their predecessors, with stray lines of what they have obliterated continuing to show through. Similarly, cities are . . . built over accumulated mounds of ruins"; Hawley, "Grub Street in Albion," 90.

this chapter demonstrates his unacknowledged impact on romantic-era satire. The provocative appeal of Scriblerian satire prompted antagonistic Victorian critics to reverse the romantic-era strategy of exposure, and they censored and suppressed Pope's Scriblerian archive for a second time. Whereas romantic critics connected Pope's outer formal artifice with an inward deformity that manifested itself both in his antipathy to the norms of a sublime national tradition and his adoption of gothic and oriental forms of satire, the authoritative Victorian editors inherited a criticism oppositional to Pope's neoclassicism but also neglected a recent history of controversy over Scriblerian satire. As this chapter analyzes the emergence and spread of a nineteenth-century "Pope Controversy," it recuperates the influence of a Scriblerian genre marginalized by the emergent canons of British literature. In the concluding section, I contend that the Pope controversy not only shaped Britain's romantic canon, but it also swept westward to America and enjoyed an afterlife among satirists steeped in canonical literary traditions.

The "Pope controversy" was set in motion by an editorial decision to re-introduce the bowdlerized "Double Mistress" episode in *The Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus*. This episode shifted perspectives toward the design and significance of Pope's archive, and sparked a firestorm of literary and critical controversy from 1797–1826. At the peak of this controversy, the participants included two major periodicals (the *Quarterly Review* and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*), as well as a group of famous writers, such as Lord Byron, William Hazlitt, Thomas Moore, Isaac D'Israeli, James Hogg, and Thomas DeQuincey. Although Pope's Victorian editors did not deem this controversy fit for preservation, the extent of its significance can be glimpsed in satirical imitations and critical summaries by nineteenth-century American authors, such as Edgar Allen Poe, Mark Twain, and James Russell Lowell. Although some twentieth-century scholars have emphasized the watershed romantic-era Pope controversy, none have yet regarded the

relevant textual history of Scriblerus's *Memoirs* within the three separate editions of Pope published between 1797 and 1824. The following argument opens with two sections that detail the return of the Double Mistress and the emergence of Joseph Spence's anecdotal account of Pope's Scriblerian design. It proceeds to an account of the conflict between Pope's primary supporter (Lord Byron) and his opponent (William Lisle Bowles). The next two sections highlight the influence of the "Pope Controversy" on British romantic works, such as Byron's *Don Juan* (1819–24) and DeQuincey's *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* (1821). The chapter then concludes with a brief survey of the impact of the "Pope Controversy" on American works such as Poe's "How to Write a Blackwood's Article" and Twain's *The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson and the Comedy of Those Extraordinary Twins* (1894). As these sections chart out the origins and proliferation of the Pope controversy, they analyze a pervasive anxiety toward the prospect of incorporating its innovative Orientalist burlesque into the institutional pedagogy and sanctioned entertainments of Britain's literary canon. The following chapter argues that these nineteenth-century afterlives of Scriblerian Orientalism enable new perspectives on the polemical legacy of (and ideological backlash against) Pope's experimental archive.

Pope's poetry suffered an unparalleled demotion during the early nineteenth century, following an unequalled popularity in the mid-eighteenth century. Donald Nichol documents evidence of Pope's overwhelming popularity: "Between February 1745 and February 1748, William Bowyer printed 5,000 copies of *An Essay on Man*, and the 10,750 sets making up the five Warburton editions of Pope's *Works* published between 1751 and 1754 comprise almost 100,000 single volumes."[3] The definitive critique of Pope emerged between 1756 and 1797, in Joseph Warton's two-volume *Essay*

[3] Donald Nichol, *Pope's Literary Legacy*, xxvi.

on the Genius and Writings of Pope (1756/82) and his 1797 *Works of Alexander Pope, Esq*. James Chandler marks Warton's critical essays as "the effective starting point of the Pope controversy," for he released these works "when Pope's reputation still commanded the extraordinary respect he had gained during his own lifetime."[4] Chandler portrays the major "Pope Controversy" waged between 1797 and 1826 as "arguably the canonical canon controversy in English literary history" (503). He also depicts it as a contest over England's "*poetic* collective identity"—a debate over whether Pope stood alongside Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton as a representative of the nation's literary tradition.[5] Chandler distinguishes Warton's concept of a "national" canon from "Pope's . . . notion of a classical canon that cuts across national boundaries and rises above national interests."[6] As Warton's "national" canon overturned a "classical" precedent, romantic critics submitted Pope's archive to an unparalleled scrutiny. These critics rejected the artificial, insincere, and imitative formalism of Pope's neoclassical aesthetics, but they also argued that portions of Pope's canon were shockingly offensive to the aesthetic sensibility and shared moral values of a British readership. Pope's detractors unified this dialectic of form and deformity to cast Pope as the antithesis to a sublime romantic ideal.

According to Robert Griffin, Pope's opponents were responsible for engendering the "discursive formation we call 'Romanticism.'" Griffin presents a genealogy of British romanticism's emergence amidst a new criticism at Oxford that was later disseminated by Lake District poets and Edinburgh reviewers. In the mid-eighteenth century, Joseph

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[4] James Chandler, "The Pope Controversy: Romantic Poetics and the English Canon," 484.

[5] Ibid., 481. See also Robert Griffin, *Wordsworth's Pope: A Study in Literary Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995), 2; "Wordsworth's Horse," in *The Wordsworthian Enlightenment: Romantic Poetry and the Ecology of Reading*, eds. Frances Ferguson and Helen Regueiro Elam (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2005), 129–49; John Whale, "Romantic Attacks: Pope and the Spirit of Language" in *Pope: New Contexts*, ed. David Fairer (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990), 153–69; c.f. Hawley, "Grub Street in Albion," 81–93.

[6] James Chandler, "The Pope Controversy," 484, 503.

Warton developed upon the critical methodology of his mentor, Edward Young, and cleared an "ambivalent space within a poetic scene dominated by Popean syntheses of the tradition."[7] By the end of the century, this criticism had moved from the margins to the center of public discourse. Griffin highlights "the eventual triumph and predominance in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of the Wartonian legacy . . . with Macauley and Arnold leading the way."[8] He defines British romanticism as a negative response to Pope:

> Since the term 'romantic' is so slippery in its positive meanings, I have suggested that what binds together all its various manifestations is the agreement that 'romantic' is not 'classic,' where 'classic' is code for 'Pope.' Or, to bring in another central opposition, it is a question of 'feeling' versus 'reason,' the sublime and pathetic as the definition of everything that Pope isn't.[9]

Griffin responds to René Wellek's seminal 1949 essay, "The Concept of Romanticism in Literary History."[10] Wellek defined British romanticism as a system of evaluative norms

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[7] Griffin adopts J.G.A. Pocock's method of "tunnel history" to chart the depreciation, marginalization, and exclusion of Pope over the second half of the eighteenth-century. Iain Hampsher describes Pocock's aim to "construct a narrative which demonstrates the rationale for the development, innovations, and adaptations that chosen ideas, theories and traditions undergo (an enterprise he has self-deprecatingly labelled 'tunnel history')"; "Review Article: The Work of J.G.A. Pocock," *British Journal of Political Science* 14.1 (1984): 89–116, 98; Pocock, "The Machiavellian Moment Revisited: A Study in History and Ideology," *The Journal of Modern History* 53.1 (1981): 49–72; Pocock, "The Antiself of Enlightenment," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 60.1/2 (1997): 7–28.

[8] Griffin, *Wordsworth's Pope*, 60–1.

[9] Ibid., 133.

[10] René Wellek cites Thomas Warton's 1774 *History of English Poetry* as a denial of a "whole tradition of literary art as it came from classical antiquity," and an arsenal for those "enemies of Pope" who paved the way for a "Byron–Bowles controversy"; Wellek, "The Concept of Romanticism in Literary History: The Term Romantic and its Derivatives," *Comparative* Literature 1.1 (1949): 1–23, 3, 15; See also Wellek, "The Concept of Romanticism in Literary History: The Unity of European Romanticism," *Comparative Literature* 1.2 (1949): 147–172. In his 1932–33 lecture series at Harvard (collected in 1936 as *The Great Chain of Being*), Arthur Lovejoy had instead attributed the romanticism of German *Weltliterature* in the 1780s and 1790s to a "belated wave of classicism," which was inclined toward cultural diversity, cosmic plenitude, and radical temporality in the conception of nature. In "On the Discrimination of Romanticisms," Lovejoy suggested that multiple (and sometimes contradictory) romanticisms surfaced in distinct locations and historical milieux. He contends that the static, idealized category of "Romanticism" has promoted unnecessary philosophical and intellectual-historical confusion. The seeds of romantic thought-complexes were manifest in Pope's era, for "Aesthetic orthodoxy and religious heterodoxy in that age grew from a common root"; Lovejoy, "On the Discrimination of Romanticisms," *PMLA* 39.2 (1924): 229–53; Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1964), 301, 291. See also McGann, *Romantic Ideology*, 1–2.

and as a literary-historical zeitgeist, but he also asserts, "on the whole, there is really no misunderstanding about the meaning of 'romanticism' as a new designation for poetry, opposed to the poetry of neoclassicism, and drawing its inspiration and models from the Middle Ages and Renaissance." In all of the prominent nineteenth-century commentaries, "we hear that there is a new age of poetry which has a new style inimical to that of Pope."[11] This binary of "romanticism" versus "Pope" reappears frequently in scholarship after Wellek, yet literary critics rarely acknowledge how this anxiety of neoclassical influence has impacted British romantic poetry or shaped its subsequent national canon.

During the late-nineteenth century, critics reconstructed Pope's neoclassical orthodoxy and established a weak and non-controversial version of his literary legacy. An 1884 article in the *Edinburgh Review* characterized a desperate need for the new critical edition initially begun by John Wilson Croker, taken up by Whitwell Elwin, and finally completed by William John Courthope (1871–1889). The reviewer claims that the biases of Pope's previous editors have distorted and obscured the "original fabric" of his poetry:

> From Warburton to Roscoe, his editors were partisans. They might be friendly or hostile, they could not be impartial. . . . Pope lay buried beneath the mass of irrelevant or superfluous lumber which was piled upon him by the pompous panegyrics of Warburton, the miscellaneous learning of Warton, the hasty prejudice of Bowles, the credulous adulation of Roscoe. . . . It was full time to remove the reproach that Pope was the worst-edited of English poets by offering the dispassionate criticism of editors who neither were assailants or advocates, but trustees of the reputation of their author. Equally imperative was the need for the work of destruction. Part at least of the cumbrous scaffolding which concealed the original fabric was useless, and required removal.[12]

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[11] Wellek, "The Term Romantic and its Derivatives," 17–20; See also A. Lynn, Altenbard, "On Pope's Horticultural Romanticism," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 54.4 (1955): 470–77; S.W Stevenson, "Romantic Tendencies in the works of Dryden, Addison, and Pope," *ELH* 1.2 (1934): 126–55; Austin Warren, "Review: Poetry and Pope," *The Sewanee Review* 38.4 (1930): 506–8; Paul DeMan, *Rhetoric of Romanticism* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1984), 76–79; Cynthia Chase, *Decomposing Figures: Rhetorical Readings in the Romantic Tradition* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1986).

[12] "The Works of Alexander Pope" *Edinburgh Review, or critical journal* 160.328 (Oct. 1884): 295–351, 296–97.

While the review critiques the sycophantic editions of William Warburton and William Roscoe (each of whom had removed Pope's Double Mistress), it also detracts from the editions of Warton and Bowles (who had the subversions of Pope's Double Mistress). The Croker-Elwin-Courthope edition not only suppressed critical disputes pertaining to the Pope controversy, but it also buried evidence of the scandal over the Double Mistress episode. Scriblerus's *Memoirs* necessitated a delicate introduction in Courthope's 1889 edition. He writes, "Following the example of Roscoe, I have, for obvious reasons, omitted the XIIIth Chapter in the 'Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus."[13] There is no thirteenth chapter, for the original skips from twelve to fourteen. Like Roscoe, Courthope removed the Double Mistress episode (chapters fourteen and fifteen in the original text). Raymond Stephanson argues that these purportedly neutral Victorian editors rival "even the best Pope-bashers from the eighteenth-century." Stephanson claims, "the first modern edition of Pope's works included so resounding a moral condemnation of the author served to deflect the next three generations of Pope defenders and scholars."[14] If Pope's first four editors added a "cumbrous scaffolding" of controversial criticism, his Victorian editors naturalized and obscured a strain of negative bias. Since this nineteenth-century criticism powerfully influenced the twentieth-century scholars responsible for modern canons of English literary history (and critical editions of Pope), I contend that scholars across fields of contemporary criticism will benefit from a more thorough reconsideration of romantic-era disputes over Pope's Scriblerian satire.

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[13] John Courthope, ed., *The Works of Alexander Pope, Vol. 9* (London, 1886), vii

[14] Raymond Stephanson explains, "Uncovering Pope's variety of stratagems and deceptions, his Victorian editors excoriated what seemed to them an unforgivably immoral, treacherous, dark-hearted poet. . . . He was all stiletto and mask"; Stephanson, "Letters of Mr. Alexander Pope and the Curious Case of Modern Scholarship and the Vanishing Text," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 31.1 (2007): 1–21, 5–6.

THE DOUBLE MISTRESS SCANDAL, 1797–1826

The romantic backlash against Pope emerged in the antagonistic criticism of Joseph Warton—an Oxford-educated literary critic and clergyman, a member of Samuel Johnson's famous Turk's Head Club, and a headmaster of the conservative and provincial Winchester College in Hampshire.[15] Johnson depicted Warton as "a very agreeable man, and his *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, a very pleasing book." He told Boswell, however, "'I suppose [Warton] finds himself a little disappointed, in not having been able to persuade the world to be of his opinion as to Pope.'" According to Boswell, Johnson preferred Warton's negative criticism to that of the adulatory and unsuspecting critics under Warburton's tutelage: "He censured [Owen] Ruffhead's *Life of Pope*; and said, 'he knew nothing of Pope, and nothing of poetry.' He praised Dr. Joseph Warton's *Essay on Pope*; but said, he supposed we should have no more of it, as the author had not been able to persuade the world to think of Pope as he did."[16] Warton dedicated the first volume of his *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* to Edward Young: an Oxford poet and contemporary of Pope. Warton opens his dedication to Young by removing

[15] Upali Amarasinghe's *Dryden and Pope in the Nineteenth Century* (1962) summarizes the controversial criticism of Warton's *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*: "Dr. Johnson noted, shortly after the publication of the first volume of Warton's *Essay*, that Warton was 'a little disappointed in not being able to persuade his readers to be of his opinions as to Pope,' and it was clearly this unsympathetic reception of his first volume that led him to postpone the publication of the second volume for twenty-six years. Warton himself was perfectly well aware that, in his own time, his views commanded little support among the reading public. . . . Whatever the cause, Warton's later criticism of Pope became increasingly tactful and persuasive. A trace of bitterness and impatience, however, may sometimes be observed in Warton's response to the intractability of the reading public"; Amarasinghe, *Dryden and Pope in the Early Nineteenth Century: A Study of Changing Literary Taste* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1962), 37–38.

[16] According to Warton, the "greatest triumph" of Gilbert Burnet, Pope's enemy, was "to draw the veil of secret infamy, and expose to view transactions that were before concealed from the world; though they serve not in the least, either to embellish the style, or connect the series, of his history, and will never obtain more credit, than perhaps to suspend the judgment of the reader, since they are supported by only one single, suspected testimony" (*JW* ii.232). Boswell wrote of Warton's 1782 second volume, "We have now been favoured with the concluding volume, in which, to use the parliamentary expression, he has *explained*, so as not to appear quite so averse as to the opinion of the world, concerning Pope, as was at first thought; and we must all agree that this work is a most valuable accession to English literature"; Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, 317, 474–5.

Pope's poetry from the highest echelon of poetry.[17] He outlines a critical manifesto, and proposes prose as a test of poetry. One may "drop entirely the measures and numbers, and transpose and invert the order of the words: and in this unadorned manner to peruse the passage. If there be really in it a true poetical spirit, all your inversions and transpositions will not disguise and extinguish it; but it will retain its lustre" (*JW* i.8). Warton's critique of a hidden prose sense prepared for Matthew Arnold's diminution of Pope in his classic essay, *The Study of Poetry* (1880). Arnold described Pope as "the high priest of an age of prose and reason," but also as a poet incapable of "high seriousness . . . poetic largeness, freedom, insight, [and] benignity." Pope and Dryden epitomize "the builders of an age of prose and reason. Though they may write in verse, though they may in a certain sense be masters of the art of versification, Dryden and Pope are not the classics of our poetry, they are classics of our prose."[18] The mainstream acceptance of Warton's controversial criticism in the nineteenth century coincides with Pope's decline.

Warton published his criticism of Pope in three works that reflect an increasingly disparaging interpretation of his archive. While Warton's 1756 *Essay* criticizes the aesthetic propriety of Pope's pastoral and mock-heroic poems,[19] his 1782 volume targets the subject matter and sentiment of Pope's "*Moral Essays*": "If the doctrines TAUGHT, HINTED AT, and IMPLIED in them, and the TRAINS OF CONSEQUENCES DEDUCIBLE from

[17] Joseph Warton's preface states, "No love of singularity, no affectation of paradoxical opinions, gave rise to the following work. I revere the memory of Pope, I respect and honour his abilities; but I do not think him at the head of his profession. In other words, in that species of poetry wherein Pope excelled, he is superior to all mankind: and I only say, that this species of poetry is not the most excellent one of the art."

[18] William Savage Johnson, ed., *Selections from the Prose Works of Matthew Arnold* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1913), 77–78.

[19] Warton criticizes Pope's pastorals for a "MIXTURE of British and Grecian ideas," and condemns *An Essay on Criticism* for its "blamable mixture of metaphors" (*JW* i.4, i.137). He champions the *Rape of the Lock* as Pope's "best satire extant" and promotes *Eloisa and Abelard* for its crypto-Catholic sublimity: "POPE'S religion certainly aided his fancy. . . . The IMAGE of the Goddess MELANCHOLY sitting over the convent, and as it were expanding her dreadful wings over its whole circuit, and diffusing her gloom around it, is truly sublime, and strongly conceived" (*JW* i.316–18).

these doctrines, were to be disputed in prose, I think he would have no reason to apprehend, either the free-thinkers on one hand, or the narrow dogmatists on the other" (*JW* ii.295). Pope habitually pairs "A VERY filthy and offensive image" with a "happy and decent word" to generate "an antithesis, and a turn of wit" (*JW* ii.305–13). If Pope's dialogues on satire "exhibit many marks of our author's petulance, party-spirit, and self-importance, and of assuming to himself the character of a general censor" (*JW* ii.369), then he epitomizes a "motley," "foreign" and "heterogenous" deformity in the philosophical satire of the extended *Dunciad*.[20] Insofar as Warton condemns Pope's philosophical and moral subversions in 1782, he was not yet prepared to analyze the Double Mistress chapters censored by Warburton in 1751. Warton initially attributes Scriblerus's *Memoirs* to John Arbuthnot, explaining that the narrative contains "allusions to parts of learning and science, with which Pope was little acquainted" (*JW* ii.403–5). He exalts Arbuthnot as having "infinitely more learning than POPE or SWIFT, and as much wit and humour as either of them" (*JW* 215). In his 1797 *Works of Alexander Pope, Esq*., Warton revises his previous attribution of Scriblerus's *Memoirs* from Arbuthnot to Pope. In a 30 September 1797 letter to John Wilkes, Warton describes the scandal caused by his reprinting of Scriblerus's Double Mistress chapters in a recent edition of Pope:

> Do you see . . . how I have been attacked in the last Monthly Review? Principally because I, a grave doctor, should have dared to insert in my edition of Pope . . . the admirable pleadings of Scriblerus concerning the Double Mistress . . . which Pope himself had inserted in an edition published by his friend [Robert] Dodsley. I cannot but smile at such an impotent attack.—The same good critic is also angry

[20] Warton states that, in 1742, "our poet was persuaded, unhappily enough, to add a *fourth* book to his *finished* piece, of such a cast and colour, as to render it at last one of the most motley compositions, that perhaps is any where to be found, in the works of so exact a writer as POPE. For one great purpose of this *fourth* book . . . was to satirize and proscribe infidels, and free-thinkers, to leave the ludicrous for the serious, Grub Street for theology, the mock-heroic for metaphysics; which occasioned a marvelous mixture and jumble of images and sentiments, Pantomime and Philosophy, Journals and Moral evidence, Fleet-ditch and the High Priori road. . . . this fourth book was foreign and heterogeneous, and the addition of it as injudicious, ill-placed, and incongruous" (*JW* ii.374–75).

> that I should have interwoven what I had before said in my Essay on Pope;—to do which was one of my principal motives for my undertaking the edition.[21]

Warton's Advertisement to his 1797 edition of Pope justifies the inclusion of Pope's Double Mistress: "If I have sometimes ventured, in the following remarks, to point out any seeming blemishes and imperfections in the Works of this excellent Poet, I beg it to be imputed, not to the 'dull, malignant delight,' of seeking to find out trivial faults, but merely to guard the Reader from being misled, by the example of a writer, in general, so uniformly elegant and correct."[22] By re-introducing a significant and formerly suppressed Scriblerian archive, Warton isolates unseen corruptions foundational to Pope's poetry.

Warton's edition angered conservative supporters of Pope, who promoted the social benefits of his orthodox neoclassicism. Thomas James Mathias reproved Warton's edition in a footnote to his updated seventh edition of *The Pursuits of Literature* (1798):

> I write with indignation against *such* an edition of such a poet. Does any Husband, or Father, think of cautioning his wife, his daughter, or his son, against *any* part whatsoever of Pope's works? If this [Warton's] edition becomes general, it will be necessary to do so. . . . The very indecent chapter of "The Double Mistress" *in this scandalous Sixth Volume*, should have been omitted, in the Memoirs of Scriblerus. . . . I again and again, disclaim any personal harshness or severity on the character of Dr. Warton, with whom I am not even acquainted. All I call for loudly is, that *this sixth volume* should suffer what every catalogue yearly informs me, poor Hollingshead once suffered ['to be unread']. . . . [I]n these days, if an idea or opinion is absurd, it will be considered deep and sagacious.[23]

At the turn of the century, Mathias sided with Pope's socially conservative imitators at the *Anti-Jacobin, or Weekly Examiner*. Two decades earlier, he began his career as the anonymous author of *A Dissertation, by Martinus Scriblerus, on the Utility and Importance of Oriental Languages* (1780). Mathias grasped the formal character of the Double Mistress, but he denied that Pope sympathized with his Scriblerian protagonist.

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[21] *The Correspondence of the late John Wilkes, vol. 4* (London, 1805), 334–35.
[22] Joseph Warton, ed. *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq., vol. 1*, vi.
[23] Mathias, *The Pursuits of Literature*, n393.

John Wool contradicted Mathias in his *Biographical Memoirs of Dr. Joseph Warton* (1806). Wool claims, "it is by no means my wish to defend" Warton's "introduction of the Double Mistress," for "every principle arising from the situation of a clergyman and schoolmaster, every regard for the memory of my departed friend, induce me to heartily wish that they had been suppressed."[24] Although Wool disagrees with Warton's decision, he rejects Mathias's distinction of "Pope's works for *correctness of morals* as well as taste." Wool, furthermore, denies that the Double Mistress will seduce "the minds of youth." Since "Disgust is a more natural effect of perusing it than allurement," from the "Double Mistress, delicacy revolting turns away." According to Wool, it is more dangerous to allow Pope's poetic deceptions to persist unchecked: "when the elegance of language and the charms of poetry unite to infuse sensuality under the masque of sentiment . . . the poison is administered under a more deceitful form" (84). In 1807, the *Critical Review* responds to Wool's adoption of "the language of the apologists for literary indecency in every age."[25] Pope's Double Mistress should not have been exposed to public view, for "few minds are *perfectly* innocent; none perhaps are *incorruptible*; and it is impossible to say at what point *delicacy* may cease to *revolt* at what is *disgusting*."

In his 1806 edition of *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq. in Verse and Prose*, William Lisle Bowles adopted Warton's footnotes and included a censorious biography focusing on Pope's personal immorality and meanness.[26] A pupil of Joseph and Thomas

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[24] John Wool, *Biographical Memoirs of Dr. Joseph Warton* (London, 1806), 84.

[25] *Critical Review; or Annals of Literature, vol. 9* (London, 1807), 556.

[26] Bowles's posthumous editor, Reverend George Gilfillan, assesses his contribution to the Pope controversy: "We may simply say . . . that we think Bowles was, in the main, right, although he laid himself open to retort at many points, and displayed an *animus* against Pope, both as a man and a poet, which he in vain sought to disclaim, and which somewhat detracted from the value of his criticisms. . . [He] proved that Pope was only at the head of the *second* rank of poets—that, as a man, he was guilty of man meannesses, and had a prurient imagination and pen—and that the objects of artificial life are, *per se*, less fitted for the purposes of poetry than those of nature, and than the passions of the human heart"; *Poetical Works of William Lisle Bowles, Vol. 2*, (Edinburgh, 1855), xv.

Warton at Winchester and Oxford, and a pious sonneteer popular among the Lake poets, Bowles also proved a fierce antagonist to Pope.[27] After Thomas Campbell's *Specimens of British Poets* (1819) moderated the harsh criticism of his 1806 edition of Pope, Bowles penned *The Invariable Principles of Poetry* (1819) to reinforce Warton's demotion of Pope to a secondary or even a tertiary tier in a hierarchy of national poets. As early as 1807, the editor of *Edinburgh Review*, Francis Jeffrey, denounced Bowles's criticism of Pope: "Mr. Bowles, we think, almost always evinces an adverse prepossession. The tone, indeed, of his own poetical feelings is so little in unison with his author, that one is led to wonder that he should have taken upon him a labour, the burthen of which could not have been alleviated by much zeal and interest about his subject."[28] Jeffrey laments that Bowles enshrined Pope's reputation, "like the Bonzes, in a house of glass." He shudders at the prospect that all of Pope's "loose sayings are sure to be as eternal as his writings."[29] Bowles's edition drew scandalous attention to Pope's licentious prose. In his account of the *Memoirs*, Bowles depicts the suppressed Double Mistress chapters as having "*least humour*, as certainly they are the *most offensive* part of the history."[30] He accepts Wool's justification for reprinting the episode: "if the 'double Mistress,' after some hesitation, has found a place, it is on account of its exquisite humor, and because, though offensive to delicacy, it is not seductive or dangerous to principles" (*PB* viii). As Bowles ironically describes the Double Mistress as an example of the "*least*" and most "exquisite humor"

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[27] Bowles studied under Joseph Warton at Winchester from 1776–81 and matriculated to Trinity College, Oxford, where he trained under Thomas Warton. Soon after leaving Oxford in 1787, Bowles published his most successful volume of poetry, *Sonnets, written chiefly on picturesque spots* (1789). Although this volume earned a strong reception, particularly among the poets of the Lake District, Bowles reached the extent of his potential. He entered holy orders in 1792, continued his attempts at poetry in his *Elegaic Stanzas* (1796) and *The Spirit of Discovery* (1806), and turned to literary criticism.

[28] Francis Jeffrey, "Bowles's *Edition of Pope*," *Edinburgh Review* (Jan. 1808), 400.

[29] Jeffrey, "Bowles's *Edition of Pope*," 400.

[30] William Lisle Bowles, ed. *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq., In Verse and Prose, vol. 6*, 10 vols. (London, 1806), 171. Further references cited as *PB*.

in the *Memoirs*, he characterizes these offensive chapters as emblematic of a genius that informs Pope's serious and popular poetry. Bowles exposed the corruption of Scriblerian satire, and he used this denunciation to establish a broader hermeneutic of suspicion toward subversions embedded in Pope's archive of didactic and neoclassical poetry.

In 1824, William Roscoe's *Works of Alexander Pope, Esq*. once again removed the Double Mistress chapters from the *Memoirs*. In the Preface to the first volume, Roscoe alludes to the recent Pope Controversy and the scandal of the Double Mistress:

> Dr. Warton has been severely animadverted upon by a powerful writer* [Mathias], whose high admiration of the character of Pope has induced him solemnly to impeach his editor before his country for having admitted pieces offensive to decency and good morals, which have either been falsely attributed to Pope, or excluded by him from the authentic editions of his works—a charge which I am sorry to observe it would have been difficult for the learned editor to repel. . . . Yet if we were implicitly to receive our impressions of the character of Pope from the representations of Mr. Bowles, we should be compelled to admit that the highest endowments of genius may be united, not only with failings and weaknesses that obscure their lustre, but with vices and propensities for which no intellectual accomplishments can compensate.[31]

Roscoe re-attributed the Double Mistress to Arbuthnot, yet none of his later editors accepted this claim of sole authorship.[32] Bowles even accused Roscoe of conspiring with

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[31] William Roscoe, *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq*. (London, 1824), xvi–xvii.

[32] In 1824, Henry Southern's *Retrospective Review* re-attributed the *Memoirs* to "the un-assisted pen of John Arbuthnot." Two years later, *Westminster Hall: or, Professional relics and anecdotes of the bar* cites the "joint production of Dr. Arbuthnot and Fortescue Aland, afterwards Master of the Rolls." The reviewer claims, "We regret that the grossness of this witty composition prevents us from extracting any part of it in these passages." In 1846, *Reports of cases in chancery, decided by Lord Cottenham [1846–1848]* replaces it with a legal satire from the Pope–Swift *Miscellanies* (1727), entitled A *Specimen of Scriblerus's Reports: Stradling versus Styles*. Arbuthnot's nineteenth-century editors never included the "Double Mistress" in the author's works—a fact the *Cornhill Magazine* noted in 1879. In 1892, George Atherton Aitken's *Life and Works of John Arbuthnot* includes the *Memoirs* without the Double Mistress chapters. Aitken echoes the epigram to the Double Mistress chapters as evidence for Pope's authorship: "When the *Memoirs* appeared, a note was prefixed to Chap. XIV, apparently by Pope, in which reference was made to the difference of style in that chapter compared with the rest of the book. It seemed probably, however, that this chapter was written by the Philosopher himself, because he expressly directed that not one word of it should be altered"; Aitken, ed. *The life and works of John Arbuthnot, M.D.: fellow of the Royal College of Physicians* (London, 1892), n.354. There is also no mention of Arbuthnot's contributions in the *Miscellaneous works of the late Dr. Arbuthnot* (London, 1751).

an anonymous "Scriblerus of the *Quarterly* [*Review*]" to diminish his attacks on Pope.[33] In *Lessons in Criticism to William Roscoe* (1826), Bowles reprinted a collection of his contributions to the Pope controversy. Bowles claims that he has been "brought in front of the offenders, for '*searching into corners*' for what was disgraceful," yet he has only aimed to condemn Pope's "blasphemous and profane filth." He questions how Roscoe could question his editorial discretion, given that "[the] '*Double Mistress*' was published by Pope himself; and yet Mr. Bowles is the most painful searcher after these latent indecencies! Mr. Bowles, in PARTICULAR, has INDUSTRIOUSLY sought out these dregs!" (*LC* 75). Bowles argues that these chapters are necessary for a coherent reading of Scriblerus's *Memoirs*: "Without the 'Double Mistress,' the Memoirs of Martin would have been incomplete." He interprets the Double Mistress as a cipher enabling readers to view Scriblerian subversions implicit in his serious poetry. Where Roscoe diminishes Scriblerus's *Memoirs* as Pope's negligible miscellanea, Bowles criticizes his decision to withhold and publish this narrative at the end of his life.[34] Bowles repels "the charge of having published the '*Double Mistress*,'" for he insists that there are immoral and licentious poems by Pope, "which are in every *library*" (*LC* 19). Bowles recommends that his readers "need not affect to be very squeamish if their eyes should happen to glance *on a page of the* 'DOUBLE MISTRESS,'" for they will be warned against the repulsive wit and immoral ideas throughout poems that have been mistakenly praised.

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[33] William Lisle Bowles, *Lessons in Criticism to William Roscoe, Esq*. (London, 1826), 79. Further references cited *LC*.

[34] Bowles writes, "As for 'ebullition of youthful passions,' one 'ebullition of youthful passion' was published, as I have said before, when the author was between forty and fifty years of age; and the Double Mistress, which I, 'in *particular*' have been so wicked as to rake up from oblivion, was published in the year 1740, either by Pope or Warburton, five years before this '*precocious youth's*' death!! Mr. Bowles thinks, at all events, he has done this '*precocious*' moralist no wrong. Mr. Bowles is conscious of no disingenuous arts; but if he was, he should yield the palm to such a defender of his 'precocious' licentiousness!" (*LC* 135–36).

.Despite Bowles's arguments in favor of preserving the Double Mistress, Roscoe's edition effectively expurgated the chapters from critical accounts of Pope. An 1827 reviewer in *The Mirror of Literature* ("a near and dear friend of Scriblerus Sarcophagus") declares his aim to "to dispel the fog which now, Alas! invests his memory—to raise the curtain which now conceals his glories." Scriblerus "had certain *morceaux* [trans. 'bits,' 'passages,' 'extracts'], for which he expressed a peculiar preference; but, stop my pen—Scrib, I will not describe thy epicurism."[35] In *The Poetical Works of Thomas Parnell* (1833), Rev. John Mitford claims that Warton and Bowles improperly re-introduced the Double Mistress into Scriblerus's *Memoirs*—the "flower of that wit, and humour, and sagacity, of which the Dunciad was the strong and bitter root." Mitford writes, "The memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus rose from a happy thought, and were happily executed," yet the Double Mistress "does not seem to me to be faithfully edited. . . . [in] the editions of Pope"[36] Mitford blames the recent Pope controversy on an 1821 French imitation of Warton and Bowles's editions: "The chapter called The Double Mistress has been translated, altered, and enlarged, the humour destroyed, and much gross ribaldry and vulgar indecency introduced by [Charles] Pigault Le Brun, in his *Mélanges Littéraires et Critiques*, vol. ii. P. 73–144, called Cause Célèlbre; he has *cantharadized* the story." Rev. Christopher Wordsworth also targets Lebrun in his 1845 "Discourses on Public Education" in *Gentleman's Magazine*. Christopher Wordsworth's treatise paradoxically uses textual objectivity as a rationale to uphold Warburton and Roscoe's bowdlerization of the Double Mistress from Pope's *Memoirs*: "In modern times . . . we utterly reject the notion of mutilating, or *Bowdlerizing* the works of Shak[e]spere

[35] J. (Anon.), "Sarcophagiana; or Reminiscences and Recollections of Scriblerus Sarcophagus," *The Mirror of Literature* 9.240 (27 Feb 1827), 124–26.

[36] Rev. John Mitford, ed., *The Poetical Works of Thomas Parnell* (London, 1833), 36–37.

and Pope, we should resist the insertion in modern editions of pieces the authors themselves rejected, or never authorized."[37] While Wordsworth fails to acknowledge Pope's prior publication of the Double Mistress, he also echoes Mitford's conspiratorial reading of a French attempt to burlesque British literature by exploiting its minor canon: "We have many poems in our possession by Pope, Burns, Chatterton, and even Thomson, which we hope never will appear to mar the luster, and deform the beauty, of their acknowledged productions. Parts of Martinus Scriblerus are bad enough; but in the coarse and vulgar additions of a Frenchman, they are ten times worse." Insofar as Wordsworth's "Discourses on Public Education" typify the general resistance to any authorized incorporations of the Double Mistress into editions of Pope, the next section details how critical and editorial responses to Bowles sparked the major Pope controversy. It tracks the double-resurgence of a suppressed biography and analyzes two reviews ascribed to "Scriblerus of the *Quarterly*."

SCRIBLERUS OF THE QUARTERLY

A curious event in literary history occurred in 1820, when two editions of Joseph Spence's suppressed biography of Pope appeared: Samuel Weller Singer's *Anecdotes, Observations, and Characters of Books and Men* and Edmund Malone's *Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men*. Octavius Gilchrist's February 1820 review in *London Magazine* begins by introducing and differentiating the two volumes: "We should . . . like to know how it comes to pass, that, after being buried in family chests, or pilloried in well-wired shelves, during a century or nearly, two impressions stalk forth,

[37] *Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 177* (London, 1845), 466.

like Gog and Magog, at one and the same instant."[38] Gilchrist recommends Wellington's lengthier version, but he prefers either to the criticism of "Mr. Bowles," who should have: "reserved some of these amiable tremblings, for the reputation of an author, of whose works he had undertaken the revision, but whose character and writings he seizes every opportunity to degrade, by gross insinuations and flippant sarcasm." Gilchrist highlights "the anatomical minuteness with which [Bowles] examines and determines on the physical constitution of Pope." Such vulgar associations are "only unseemly or unbecoming in a layman, and occasional critic," yet, "in an editor and a clergyman such conduct appears to us as indecent and insufferably disgusting." These two publications of Spence's *Anecdotes*, Gilchrist claims, will serve to combat Bowles's personal malice: "How different was the conduct of Spence, a man of refined taste, and very considerable literary attainments; who, admiring the writings of Pope, became desirous of personal acquaintance with that eminent man." Bowles was furious at this *London Magazine* review, although he incorrectly (and embarrassingly) identified Gilchrist as the author of a scathing October 1820 review by an author he termed the "Scriblerus of the *Quarterly*."

Isaac D'Israeli's anonymous October 1820 essay in *Quarterly Review* features a glowing review of Spence's *Anecdotes* and a harsh criticism of Bowles's 1819 *Invariable Principles of Poetry*. D'Israeli mystifies the suppression and double resurgence of Spence's manuscript: "At length, after a tedious retention by one possessor, and as we now find, a concealment by another, appear the 'Anecdotes of Spence;' an authentic collection which has hitherto remained unpublished, but not unreferred to, during the many years in which it has enjoyed a sort of paradoxical existence."[39] D'Israeli explains,

[38] Octavius Gilchrist, Review of "Spence's Anecdotes" in *London Magazine, vol. 1* (London, 1820), 191–94.

[39] *The Quarterly Review, vol. 23* (London, 1820), 400. Further references cited *ID*.

"The history of book is often curious, but that of the present is mysterious; and the mystery originates in the nature of the work itself, which was wished to be, and not to be, suppressed." Spence's manuscript—like "the Arabian Nights" or a "Box of Pandora"—will unseat the reason of Pope's detractors: "Listen to Mr. Bowles, a sort of sentimental critic:—'I tremble for every character when I hear any thing of 'Spence's Anecdotes'"" (*ID* 401–3). Six years before his *Quarterly* essay, D'Israeli featured Warburton and Pope in *Quarrels of Authors* (1814), a work based on his new methodology: ""I fixed on a Literary Controversy to illustrate some principle, to pourtray some new thing or investigate some new topic."[40] D'Israeli focused in particular on a model of literary historiography based on the public emergence of private secrets and suppressed texts. According to D'Israeli, Warburton's 1751 edition of Pope relied on an enigmatic editorial practice that anticipated Warton and Bowles's scandalous critical editions.[41] Warburton's "SECRET PRINCIPLE" involves a polemical omission that would cause Pope's neoclassical edifice to collapse.[42] This editor was "a literary Revolutionist . . . he probably foresaw all

[40] Isaac D'Israeli, *Quarrels of Authors, vol. 1*, v. His approach resembles Jonathan Israel's "controversialist approach" to Enlightenment intellectual history, which focuses on provocative and controversial concepts as "a channeling and guiding force" and "a window enabling us to see in a reasonably objective light how structures of belief and sensibility in society interact dialectically with the evolution of philosophical ideas"; Israel, *Enlightenment Contested*, 23–26. Israel distinguishes his approach from three major trends in intellectual history: the Annales Scool's *histoire de mentalités*, the Cambridge School of contextualism and historical rhetorics, and the German *Begriffsgeschichte* of conceptual history. The third "controversialist method" seeks "to pull social and intellectual history together . . . by dredging a very wide range of sources to focus on shifts in collective expressions and conceptualizations of key ideas" (17).

[41] D'Israeli describes Warburton's Pope edition: "We now pursue the SECRET PRINCIPLE operating on lighter topics; when, turning commentator, with the same originality as when an author, his character as a literary adventurer is still more prominent, extorting double senses, discovering the most fantastical allusions, and making men of genius but of confined reading, learned, with all the lumber of his own unwieldy erudition . . . . he never failed to raise some *terra incognita* . . . [the] same SECRET PRINCIPLE was pursued in his absurd edition of Pope"; D'Israeli, *Quarrels of Authors,* 70, 50, 94.

[42] April London summarizes D'Israeli's "pluralist understanding of history writing" as an expression of "possibilities for historicist inquiry that continue to stand as powerful alternatives to the romantic ideology." He read "worldly" genius in a "contextual" and "comparative" light, and resisted the "linear and teleological" hierarchies of romantic criticism. D'Israeli mined "the subterraneous veins of secret history" and admitted "the private and literary as essential components of historical understanding." He "makes

the controversies which were to gather around him." D'Israeli insists, "WARBURTON pursued ONE SECRET PRINCIPLE in all his labours; thus he raised edifices which could not be securely inhabited, and were only impediments in the road-way; and these works are now known, by the labours of those who have exerted their skill in lying them in ruins."[43]

D'Israeli targets Warton and Bowles as the two editors responsible for this ruin of Pope's archive. He positions Bowles in an anti-Popian school: "Warton, who first entered the list, though not unwilling to wound, exhibits some of the courtesy of ancient chivalry; but his successor, the Rev. Mr. Bowles, possesses the contest *à l'outrance*, with the appearance, though assuredly not the reality, of personal hostility" (*ID* 407). These romantic rivals are jealous of a refined neoclassical aesthetic that they cannot equal:

> Pope wrought to its last perfection the classical vein of English poetry; he inherited, it is true, the wealth of his predecessors, but the splendour of his affluence is his own. Whenever any class, or any form of literature has touched its meridian, Art is left without progressive power. . . . At such a crisis we return to old neglected tastes, or acquire new ones which in turn will become old; and it is at this critical period that we discover new concurrents depreciating a legitimate and established genius whom they cannot rival, and finally practicing the democratic and desperate arts of literary Ostracism. (*ID* 428–34)

D'Israeli mocks Bowles's piety as a "concealed egotism, a stratagem of self-love" (410). His moral criticism suggests "a kind of mysticism . . . nebulous as the dreams of a Muggletonian or a Swedenburghian. . . . a mystery as occult as alchemy. . . . the very black art of Criticism;—reading the Lord's prayer backwards" (433). D'Israeli blames Bowles's "Provincial" criticism for a "literary hypochondriasm" in which critics see

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exclusion and marginality the key signifiers of intellectual integrity and plays off this attention to the non-illustrious against the historical genre most concerned with public men and public actions." His method emphasizes "the heuristic capabilities of literary history," recuperating an "often unacknowledged source, whose description gives the reader a denser, 'truer' sense of the fostering culture than that given by conventional histories"; "Isaac D'Israeli and Literary History: Opinion, Anecdote, and Secret History in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Poetics Today* 26.3 (2005): 351–386, 351–57, 361–69.

[43] D'Israeli, *Quarrels of Authors,* 106, 96.

"nothing but the creation of a morbid fancy, a phantom in a dark room" (410–11). The "injury inflicted on Pope" is the result of "the strange proceedings of his last editor, who having probably possessed himself of all the ravings of the dunces on their arch-enemy, dwelt on them till their sinister influence operated on his imagination, and prompted him to hesitate, and suggest, and surmise away every amiable characteristic of the poet." D'Israeli mocks Bowles's criticism as the enthusiasm of a dunce, and he also implies that the "thunderbolts *doubly* pointing against Pope" pertain to his anxiety toward Scriblerus.

D'Israeli invents a terminology to counteract Bowles's restrictive criteria of romantic criticism, depicting the dichotomy of "*in-door*" versus "*out-door* nature." He highlights the impenetrable mystery of "Nature": "a critical term, which the Bowleses have been explaining for more than two thousand years—and they still throw us into that nervous agitation of spirits which always arises when we sit down to our favorite studies of squaring the circle, or beginning the perpetual motion" (409–10). While D'Israeli compares Bowles's romantic naturalism to the totalizing enthusiasm of "Mad Mathesis" in book four of the *Dunciad*, he also proposes an experimental dualism of "Nature": "It happened . . . that Pope preferred *in-door* to *out-door* nature, but did this require inferior skill or less of the creative faculty than Mr. Bowles's *Nature*? In Pope's *artificial life* we discover a great deal of *nature*, and in Mr. Bowles's *nature*, or poetry, we find much that is *artificial*."[44] In contrast to Bowles's idealized romantic imagination, Pope devised a naturalistic and visionary poetics during his precocious childhood in Windsor Forest:

[44] Tillotson has envisioned Pope's "experience of indoor beauty—or of beauty contrived by man out of doors" as the proof of "a solid prose content in Pope's poetry. But that prose content . . . is thickly elaborate. If we think of it for a moment as a metal, we think of it not as an ingot but a metal tree. And the radiance is playing on the strong interlacing lines of silver, and they are colored and delicate as Shelley's"; Tillotson, *Essays in Criticism and Research*, 91, 103–4. Tillotson also argues that Pope descends to depict the materiality of human existence through arresting images of "filth, sex, bodily grotesqueness, ugliness—as also the beautiful"; see *Pope and Human Nature*, 117.

> Those who deny his originality appeal to his first productions as proofs of the penury of his genius; they are all *imitations* and *translations*. . . . [We know] the youthful bard once *wandered in fancy's maze*. . . . [He] had designed several subjects of pure fancy, (a sort of Lalla Rookh) after reading the Persian Tales, 'In which, says he, 'I should have given a full loose to description and imagination. It would have been a very wild thing if I had executed it, but it might not have been unentertaining:—but some other things came in my way, and took me off from it.' Of this much Warburton could not be ignorant. (434)

D'Israeli references the anecdote in Spence's volume that also appears in the letter to Judith Cowper, in which Pope explains his desire "to tell a Fairy tale; the more wild & exotic the better. . . . I think one or 2 of the Persian Tales would give one Hints for such an Invention" (*PC* ii.202–3). He cites *Retirement*—a poem by Judith's nephew, William Cowper—as evidence of Pope's "*in-door*" nature: "And Cobham's groves and Windsor's green retreats,/ When Pope describes them, have a thousand sweets; He likes the country, but in truth most own,/ Most likes it, when he studies it in town."[45] In the decade prior to D'Israeli's review, John Keats and William Wordsworth reiterated Cowper's criticism that Pope "Made poetry a mere mechanic art;/ And ev'ry warbler has his tune by heart."[46]

By comparing Pope's "*in-door*" and "*artificial*" nature to Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh* (1817), D'Israeli revises an entrenched romantic criticism in order to praise the influence of Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism. *Lalla Rookh* was the product of Byron's

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[45] *Poems by William Cowper, of the Inner Temple, Esq*. (London, 1782), 287.

[46] *Table Talk, and other poems* (London, 1817), 22. In *Sleep and Poetry* (1816), John Keats depicts Pope's mechanic art: "ye were dead/ To things ye knew not of,—were closely wed/ To musty laws lined out with wretched rule/ And compass vile: so that ye taught a school/ Of dolts to smooth, inlay, and clip, and fit. . . . They went about/ Holding a poor, decrepit standard out/ Mark'd with most flimsy mottos, and in large/ The name of one Boileau!"; *Selected Poems and Letters*, ed. Douglas Bush (Houghton Mifflin: Boston, 1959), 30. See parallel invocations of the banners of botany, geometry and love divine in other romantic-era imitations of Pope, such as Erasmus Darwin's *Loves of the Plants* (1789), the *Anti-Jacobin*'s "Loves of the Triangles" (1797), and Moore's *Loves of the Angels* (1823). In his Essay Supplementary to the Preface of the *Lyrical Ballads*, Wordsworth argues, "The arts by which Pope contrived to procure himself a more general and a higher reputation than perhaps any Poet ever attained to during his lifetime, are known to the judicious. . . . He bewitched the nation by his melody, and dazzled it by his polished style, and was himself blinded by his own success"; *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth, vol. 3* (London, 1837), 331.

1813 recommendation that Moore "Stick to the East,"[47] and Byron advertised this poem in the introduction to his *Corsair* (1816).[48] Moore's *Lalla Rookh* combines a framework of learned Orientalism with a "Scriblerian" satire on cultural bigotry and ideologically motivated criticism.[49] Contemporary literary critics have neither identified Moore's debt to Pope's Orientalist satire, nor have they identified his explicit imitations of Scriblerus's *Memoirs* in "The Devil Among the Scholars; a fragment" (1806), *Trifles, or the Insurrection of the Papers* (1813), and *Les Hommes Automathes* (1835).[50] Moore

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[47] Byron had urged Moore to "Stick to the East. . . . The North, South, and West, have all been exhausted; but from the East, we have nothing but Southey's unsaleables,—and these he has contrived to spoil, by adopting only their most outrageous fictions. His personages don't interest us, and yours will. You have no competitor; and, if you had, you ought to be glad of it. The little I have done in that way is merely a 'voice in the wilderness for you; and, if it has any success, that will also prove that the public are orientalizing, and pave the path for you"; Leslie A. Marchand, ed., *"Alas! the Love of Women" The Journal of Lord Byron, 1813–1814* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1974), 101. Southey's notes to *Thalaba* declare his negativity toward Scriblerian Orientalism: "A waste of ornament and labour characterizes all the works of the Orientalists. I have seen illuminated Persian manuscripts that must each have been the toil of many years, every page painted, not with representations of life and manners, but usually like the curves and lines of a Turkey carpet, conveying no idea whatever, as absurd to the eye as nonsense-verses to the ear. The little of their literature that has reached us is equally worthless. Our *barbarian* scholars have called Ferdusi the Oriental Homer. . . . To make this Iliad of the East, as they have sacrilegiously styled it, a good poem, would be realizing the dreams of alchemy, and transmuting lead into gold"; *The Poetical Works of Robert Southey, Esq., Vol. 1*, 4th edition (London, 1821), 39.

[48] Byron writes, "I trust truly, that you are engaged in the composition of a poem whose scene will be laid in the East; none can do these scenes so much justice. The wrongs of your own country, the magnificent and fiery spirit of her sons, the beauty and feeling of her daughters, may there be found; and Collins, when he denominated his Oriental, his Irish Eclogues, was not aware how true, at least, was part of his parallel. . . . but wildness, tenderness, and originality are part of your national claim of oriental descent, to which you have already thus far proved your title more clearly than the most zealous of your country's antiquarians"; *The Corsair*, 9th Ed. (London, 1815), vii.

[49] On Moore's Scriblerian imitations, see Andrew Rudd, "'Oriental' and 'Orientalist' Poetry The Debate in Literary Criticism in the Romantic Period," *Romanticism*, 3.1, 2007): 53-62, 58; Elizabeth Schneider, "Tom Moore and the Edinburgh Review of Christabel," *PMLA* 77.1 (1962): 71–76, 75. On Orientalism, see Joep Leersen, "Irish Studies and Orientalism: Ireland and the Orient" in *Oriental Prospects: Western Literature and the East*, Eds. C.C. Barfoot and Theo D'haen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998), 171; Joseph Lennon, *Irish Orientalism: A Literary and Intellectual History* (Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 2008); Shelley Meagher, "Thomas Moore, Ireland, and Islam," *Transnational England: Home and Abroad, 1780-1860*, Eds. Monika Class and Terry F. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 235, 244; Sharafuddin, *Islam and Romantic Orientalism: Literary Encounters with the Orient* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 194), 136.

[50] A Philadelphia periodical, *The Portfolio*, Oliver Oldschool Esq. states that his poem "'[The] Devil Among the Scholars,' may be *growled at* by some, and *whined over* by others, but though we by no means assume the office of an apologist, even for the mere appearance of evil, yet, in justice to the very young and

implicitly associated Pope with "a new Oriental Plan of Reform" in his *Intercepted Letters; or Two-Penny Post Bag* (1813), and he also composed essays on the esoteric precedents for the sylphs in Pope's *Rape of the Lock*.[51] This erudite Scriblerian aesthetic informs *Loves of the Angels* (1823): an esoteric Biblical parody that Moore revised as an Orientalist satire in his fifth edition.[52] Moore published the original drafts of his poem only a week before Byron released *Heaven and Earth: A Mystery* (1823): a satirical closet drama that adapts the same recently translated scriptural apocrypha. By positioning Moore's *Lalla Rookh* in the context of a satirical project shared with Byron, D'Israeli's *Quarterly Review* article escalated the polemical rhetoric of the Pope controversy.[53]

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impassioned author of these glowing descriptions . . . [he] will find himself in company of a tolerable reputation, such as Shakespeare, Prior, and even Pope himself"; Joseph Dennie and John Elihu Hall, *The Portfolio, vol. 2* (Philadelphia, 1806), 357. For *Trifles*, see *Intercepted Letters; or, The Two-Penny Post-bag* (London, 1813), 49. For *Les Hommes Automathes*, see *The Fudges in England, being a sequel to the "Fudge family in Paris"* (London, 1835), 209-10.

[51] See Moore's November 1814 *Edinburgh Review* article on Hugh Stuart Boyd's Greek translations of Christian patriarchs, which derives Pope's Rosicrucian doctrine from Abbé de Villar's *Comte de Gabalis* and the recently discovered apocryphal Book of Enoch. *Selections from the Edinburgh Review, v. 3*, 6 vols. (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1835), 83. Gayle Shadduck explains, "James Bruce's travels in Ethiopia led to his recovery in 1783 of three manuscripts of the Book of Enoch . . . one of these Bruce donated to the French National Library, and another to the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Richard Laurence's translation 'from the Ethiopic MS in the Bodleian Library,' appearing in 1821 afforded the first English edition of the complete text of the Book of Enoch. . . . The 'Watchers' first came to Western Europe at the pleasure of J.J. Scaliger, who put the fragments to press in 1606; Joannes Ernestus Grabius borrowed them for his *Spicilegium S.S. Patrum*, brought out at Oxford in 1714; in 1715, one of these fragments made its debut in English, seductive under its 'Englished' title, *The History of the Angels and their Gallantry with the Daughters of Men, written by Enoch the Patriarch*"; *England's Amorous Angels, 1813–1823* (New York: University Press of America, 1990), 4–5. Also see Unpublished Letter (on Pope's sylphs), Gershom Scholem to Geoffrey Tillotson, 11 November 1937, *The Harry Ransom Center*, Austin TX; Location B51.

[52] An 1853 reviewer at the *Quarterly* praised Moore's retreat into a "*rag-fair*" of pedantry, and he even invents a new critical term: "After the Loves of the Angels, founded on a passage of Scripture, helped out by the apocryphal book of Enoch, had been published and four editions sold, Moore found the imputation of impiety so strong, that he took the bold resolution of shifting his whole machinery to Mahomet's Paradise. . . . Such a *disponability*, as the French call it—such a *dissolving view*—would not have been possible had there been anything of truth or nature, or even of fictitious interest, in the original composition"; *The Quarterly Review, vo. 113* (London, 1853), 277. On the immense controversy surrounding *Loves of the Angels* and Moore's Orientalist revisions, see Jeffrey Vail, *The Literary Relationship of Lord Byron and Thomas Moore* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2001), 158; Shadduck, *Amorous Angels*, 245.

[53] In November 1820, Byron wrote to John Murray from Ravenna, Italy concerning D'Israeli's anonymous essay in the *Quarterly*. The next day, he wrote Moore: "I shall be at Bowles again, if he is not

James Chandler also portrays D'Israeli's review as motivated by Byron's *Don Juan*: "a poem whose genesis simply cannot be fully explained without reference to the Pope controversy." While "D'Israeli nowhere says that [Bowles's] invidious, pseudonatural principles are motivated by nationalism as such . . . what he does say is nonetheless quite compatible with such a conclusion. . . . the general drift and tone of D'Israeli's critique of Lakist provincialism and self-absorption are too Byronically mordant to be explained as coincidence."[54] Byron read and recognized D'Israeli's anonymous article, and he used it as the point of departure for the initial prose criticism of Bowles he sent in a February 1821 pamphlet to John Murray, the *Quarterly Review*'s publisher. Insofar as Bowles never discovered D'Israeli's hand, he viewed Byron, Roscoe, and "Scriblerus of the *Quarterly*" as a league of enemies conspiring to rehabilitate Pope's subversive aesthetics.

In his "Epilogue" to *Lessons in Criticism*, Bowles offers a satire on Pope's Scriblerian supporters in "a few lines from the beginning of my Great Heroic poem," entitled "*Critico-Poetical-Bibliopolo-Blockheado—Spirits of the Age!*" He depicts the *Quarterly*'s publisher, John Murray, deterring Byron from the composition of *Don Juan*. Bowles's lines, subtitled "Bard and Friend," also feature an implicit allusion to Ebn-Hai Paw-Waw, the "Black Prince of Monomotapa" in Scriblerus's Double Mistress episode:

> [F:] Friend, burn your epic——if you would succeed,
>
> Take some choice hero of the *monkey* breed. . . .

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quiet" (*WB* 207). A month later, Byron tells Murray, "Bowles must be bowled down"; *Letters and Journals, Vol. 5*, 109 He writes to Moore, "I mean to plunge thick . . . into the contest upon Pope, and to lay about me like a dragoon till I make manure of *** for the top of Parnassus" (212). Murray printed Byron's extended criticism of Bowles with a date of 7 February 1821. Byron sent a second essay on 21 April 1821, but William Gifford disapproved of its printing. Byron called for a suspension of hostilities on May 10th, after Bowles's polite *Two Letters addressed to the Right Honourable Lord Byron* (1821). On May 19th, however, he inquired, "Well and how does our Pope controversy go on?" (284). Within a week, Byron found justification for further hostility: "So I hear Bowles has been abusing Hobhouse!" (286).

[54] Chandler, "The Pope Controversy," 499–501.

The simpering publisher, WHO PAID YOU MONEY,[55]

Shall read "OUR QUARTERLY," and cry, "*how funny!*"

While epic, ode, and sonnet all give place,

To Monomotapa's *facetious* race.

Or if for gain or favour you would hope,

Pen a sharp article on BOWLES'S POPE. (*LC* 158).

Bowles footnotes an 1825 article in *Quarterly Review*: "Apology, addressed to the Traveller's Club: or, Anecdotes of Monkeys." He summarizes its treatment of William Stewart Rose's voyage narrative in a vein of Scriblerian gravity: "It treats of sailor monkeys . . . of associated monkeys, of ourselves; of domestic monkeys . . . of London monkeys . . . of tucking up cats in bed, of discovering the interior of Africa; of making a tune of colours and an arithmetic of smells, of political economy, and of Mr. Locke's metaphysics."[56] By treating this extravagant review with mock-seriousness, Bowles implies that Pope's supporters degraded elevated topics to the level of burlesque. In the second of his two letters to Bowles (suppressed by William Gifford and Murray), Byron claimed that he could not exclude Pope from a literary canon that already tolerated works of licentious and indelicate sentiment.[57] Byron accuses "the new school of poets" of a "'shabby-genteel' . . . *vulgarity*. . . . far worse than downright *blackguardism*." While blackguardism "comprehends wit, humour, and a strong sense at times," vulgarity "is a

[55] Byron satirized Bowles's pecuniary motives: "See BOWLES'S late edition of POPE's works, for which he received 300 pounds: thus Mr. B. has experienced, how much easier it is to profit by the reputation of another, than to elevate his own"; *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers: A Satire*, 2nd Edition (London, 1809), 361–64, 377–78. Further references to cited by line number.

[56] *The Quarterly Review, vol. xxxi, published in December 1824 & March 1825* (London, 1825), 487.

[57] Byron addresses the charge of Pope's "duplicity" and "gross licentiousness," and denies that his offenses warrant his exclusion: "Let us hear no more of this trash about 'licentiousness.' Is not 'Anacreon' taught in our schools?—translated, praised, edited? . . . I do believe that such a subject never was, nor ever could be, treated by any poet with so much delicacy, mingled with, at the same time, such true and intense passion"; Thomas Moore, ed., *Life, Letters, and Journals of Lord Byron, Vol. 3* (London, 1833), 184. Further references cited *BL*, volume.

sad abortive attempt at all things, 'signifying nothing.'" According to Byron, vulgarity "does not depend on low themes, or even low language, for Fielding revels in both;—but is he ever *vulgar*? No." Bowles's vulgar abuse of Pope, however, "merits a reprobation so strong," that Byron claims to be "incapable of expressing as of ceasing to feel it."[58] As the next section demonstrates, Byron satirized Bowles decades before D'Israeli's 1820 *Quarterly Review* article sparked the debates associated with the major Pope controversy.

BYRON AND THE ROMANTIC SCRIBBLERS

In *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* (1809), Byron claims that his country's "honour bade me here engage/ The host of idiots that infest her age."[59] He invokes an image of "Rome decay'd, and Athens strewed [on] the plain,/ And Tyre's proud piers [lying] shattered in the main;/ Like these thy strength may sink in ruin hurled,/ And Britain fall, the bulwark of the World" (i.1004–6). Byron satirizes Pope's enemies and exalts the "immortal Bard," who will persist "even in ruin" that remains after "Empires have mouldered from the face of earth" (i.195–98). Even though his poetry is sometimes "incorrect," it is "Better to err with Pope" than to incur the "mistaken praise" of critics in "degenerate days" when "POPE'S pure strain" is no longer esteemed (i.103–9). Byron aspires to "tear the veil away" from the romantic "scribbler" before departing on his voyages to the East.[60] Byron's Postscript ironically states, "What a pity it is that I shall be

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[58] Neither moral "deformity" nor physical "debility" proved obstacles to Pope inspiring "the grosser passion" of "'*romantic*'" sentiment in male or female readers (*BL* iii.178).

[59] Lord Byron, "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers," in *Lord Byron: The Complete Poetical Works, Vol. 1*, ed. Jerome McGann (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1980), i.993–94. Further references cited *B*. References to "English Bards" cited by line number.

[60] (*B* i.1043) Byron bids adieu to critics: "Afric's coast and Calpe's adverse height/ And Stamboul's minarets must greet my sight:/ Thence shall I stray through beauty's native clime,/ Where Kaff is clad in rocks, and crowned with snows sublime/ But should I back return, no tempting press/ Shall drag my Journal from the desk's recess" (i.1019–22).

beyond the Bosphorus, before the next number [of the *Edinburgh Review*] has passed the Tweed. But I hope to light my pipe with it in Persia" (*B* 263). His impending departure enabled satirical directness in *English Bards*: "Then let us soar to-day, no common theme,/ No Eastern vision, no distempered dream/ Inspires" (i.23–25). As Byron rejects a conventional "Eastern" aesthetic, he also depicts romantic poets as Scriblerian curiosities.

Much like Pope's parade of booksellers, hacks, and quacks in the *Dunciad*, Byron's *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* displays the poets and critics of his age: "Behold! in various throngs the scribbling crew,/ For notice eager, pass in long review" (i.143–44). Byron repurposes the Orientalist tropes and aesthetic inversions of Scriblerian satire to target Robert Southey, William Wordsworth, and S.T. Coleridge.[61] Insofar as these Lake poets suppressed their debt to Pope's aesthetics, Byron's comparisons serve a twofold purpose of elevating the Scriblerian precedent and burlesquing their pretensions to revolutionary innovation. He mocks Robert Southey's *Thalaba* (1801) as an attempt "in open defiance of precedent and poetry. Mr. S. wished to produce something novel and succeeded to a miracle" (i.n211). Byron thus depicts Southey as "tremendous Thalaba . . . Arabia's monstrous, wild, and wond'rous son. . . . Immortal Hero! . . . rival of Tom Thumb!" (i.211–16). By 1807, this apostate radical and turncoat scourge of reformers had slain more "mad magicians than the world e'er knew." Byron imagines Southey borne by "triumphant Genii" as the "Illustrious conqueror of common sense!" (i.219–20). In his allusion to Fielding's Counter-Scriblerian farce, Byron implicitly likens Southey to the Scriblerian satire that Warton and Bowles exposed in their editions of Pope. Byron next turns to Wordsworth, the "dull disciple of thy school,/ That mild apostate from poetic

[61] Byron's attack on Wordsworth, Southey, and Coleridge imitates Richard Mant, *The Simpliciad: A Satirico-didactic Poem. Containing hints for the scholars of the new school, suggested by Horace's Art of Poetry, and improved by a Contemplation of the Works of the First Masters* (London, 1807).

rule," whose *Lyrical Ballads* seem to suggest that "Christmas stories tortured into rhyme,/ Contain the essence of the true sublime" (i.235–36, 245–46). As he descends into a simplified descriptive verse and "quit[s] his books for fear of growing double" (i.240), Wordsworth epitomizes Warton and Bowles's criticisms of Pope: he "both by precept and example shows/ That prose is verse, and verse is merely prose,/ Convincing all by demonstrations plain,/ Poetic souls delight in prose insane."[62] Among the Lake poets, Byron cites Coleridge's "obscurity" as a "welcome guest" (i.258). He ironically praises Coleridge's "Lines to a Young Ass": "Yet none in lofty numbers can surpass/ The bard who soars to elegize an ass:/ So well the subject suits his noble mind,/ He brays the Laureat of the long-ear'd kind!" (i.261–64). In his satires on the Lake poets, Byron depicts them as indiscrete, irrational, self-contradictory, and repressed Scriblerian dunces.

After reframing the major poets of the Lake School as disguised dunces, Byron attends to the literary critics of the age: "the smaller fry, who swarm in shoals/ From silly HAFIZ up to simple BOWLES" (i.707–8). Byron associates Bowles with a popular hack: "[Robert] Stott, better known in the 'Morning Post' by the name of Hafiz. This personage is at present the most profound explorer of the Bathos" (i.n142). Byron couples ironic praise for Stott with ridicule in the context of more extensive literary history: "What would be the sentiments of the Persian Anacreon, Hafiz, could he rise from his splendid sepulcher at Sheeraz, where he reposes with Ferdousi and Sadi, the Oriental Homer, and Catullus, and behold his name assumed by one Stott of Dromore, the most impudent and execrable of literary poachers for the Daily Prints?" (i.n412). Byron did not consider whether Bowles, a respectable clergyman, would have been troubled by a comparison to

[62] Byron adapts "The Tables Turned": "Up, up, my friend, and clear your looks,/ Why all this toil and trouble?/ Up, up, my friend, and quit your books,/ Or surely you'll grow double"; Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads, with other poems, Vol. 1* (London, 1800), 4.

this quintessential dunce. He instead describes the "merry sounds" that "proceed from Oxford Bells," and praises Bowles as a "delightful" and "harmonious" sonneteer fit to entertain infants and children. Byron depicts Bowles's more ambitious *Spirit of Discovery* (1804) as a "very spirited and pretty dwarf Epic," yet he recommends, "Stick to thy Sonnets, man! at least they sell."[63] He burlesques the opening lines of Bowles's *Spirit of Discovery*: "'Awake a louder and a loftier strain',/ Such as none heard before, or will again;/ Where all discoveries jumbled from the flood,/ Since first the leaky arc repos'd in mud,/ By more or less, are sung in every book,/ From Captain NOAH down to CAPTAIN COOK" (i.351–56). In the suppressed 1811 sequel to *English Bards*, entitled *Hints from Horace*, Byron likens Bowles's opening lines to Southey's incongruity. He instructs aspiring poets: "Beware—for God's sake don't begin like B[owle]s!/ 'Awake a louder and a loftier strain',/ And pray, what follows from his boiling brain?/ He sinks to Southey's level in a trice,/ Whose epic mountains never fail in mice!" (i.192–96). By undermining Bowles's capacity to write mature verse, he establishes a basis for ridiculing his romantic criticism against Pope's Scriblerian satire as the ravings of an arch-dunce.

In 1821, Byron explained that he suppressed *English Bards* in 1816 because he regretted the severity of its personal satire. He also asserts, "the part which I regret the least is that which regards Mr. Bowles with reference to Pope" (*BB* 9). Byron explains

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[63] (*B* n405) Byron misquotes *The Spirit of Discovery*: "*When first Madeira trembled to a kiss*." He distorts Bowles's Biblically-informed representations of a sentimental colonial romance: "A kiss/ Stole on the listening silence; never yet/ Here heard: they trembled, e'en as if the Power/ That made the world, that planted that first pair/ In Paradise, amid the garden walk'd." In 1821, Byron apologizes for his misquotation (which Bowles was eager to correct upon their meeting in 1812): "I hereby do fully and freely declare and asseverate, that the Woods did *not* tremble to a kiss, and that the lovers did"; Byron, *Letter to* **** ****** *[John Murray] on the Rev. W.L. Bowles' Strictures on the Life and Writings of Pope* (London, 1821), 6. Further references cited *BB*. See Bowles's reworking of *Rape of the Lock* (ii.1–8) in his imperial stanzas, entitled, "The Last Song of Camoens": "Triumph! For the toil is o'er—/ We kiss the far-sought Indian shore!/ Glittering to the orient ray,/ The banners of the Cross display!"; Rev. George Gilfillan, ed., *The Poetical Works of William Lisle Bowles, vol. 1* (Edinburgh, 1855), 277, 184.

that he carefully replaced J.C. Hobhouse's original lines with his own.[64] In his published *English Bards*, Byron represented Bowles as an incompetent critic and a dunce:

> If POPE, whose fame and genius from the first
> Have foil'd the best of critics, needs the worst,
> Do thou essay; each fault each failing scan;
> The first of poets was, alas! but man!
> Rake from each ancient dunghill ev'ry pearl,
> Consult Lord Fanny, and confide in CURLL;
> Let all the scandals of a former age,
> Perch on thy Pen and flutter o'er thy page. . . .
> Oh! had'st thou liv'd in that congenial time . . .
> A meet reward had crown'd thy glorious gains,
> And link'd thee to the Dunciad for thy pains. (*B* i.367–84)

In his 1821 letter to John Murray, Byron commends "Mr. Bowles the individual," but argues that, in conjunction with "Mr. Bowles the editor," he embodies "one ____ [vile] antithesis'" (*BB* 11). Byron admits "surprise and regret" that he undertook a critical edition of Pope: "If [Bowles] had been a fool, there would have been some excuse for him; if he had been a needy or a bad man, his conduct might have been intelligible: but he is the opposite of all these; and thinking and feeling as I do of Pope, to me the whole thing is unaccountable" (*BB* 11). Byron theorizes that Bowles succumbed to the "grand '*primum mobile*'" of "*cant*" in England: "cant political, cant poetical, cant religious, cant moral; but always cant, multiplied through all the varieties of life. It is the fashion, and

[64] See Hobhouse's lines in J.J. Van Rennes, *Bowles, Byron, and the Pope Controversy* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1977), 3–4

while it lasts will be too powerful for those who can only exist by taking the tone of the time" (*BB* 16). Bowles's artifical cant ("a thing of words") propagates an ideology of natural imagination and national sentiment to diminish a poet beyond his grasp.

After the publication of *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, Byron did not take up the quill for Pope again until March 15, 1820. In his unpublished essay, entitled "Some Observations upon an Article in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, August 1819," Byron responded to a review of *Don Juan* that linked the poem to his "private life" and "private malignity." Byron insisted that he had been "exiled by ostracism" due to "circulated" and "invented" tale of his incest and bigamy: "a report, that . . . [Percy Shelley] and myself were living in promiscuous intercourse with two sisters, 'having formed a league of incest' (I quote the words as they were stated to me)" (*BL* ii.671). Turning the tables on his critics, Byron lampoons Southey as the projector of a polygamist Pantisocracy. He adds a more provocative argument that "next to him who forms the taste of his country, the greatest genius is he who corrupts it," implying that Pope's critics reformed the country's tastes and caused "the decline of English poetry":

> The great cause of the present deplorable state of English poetry is to be attributed to that absurd and systematic depreciation of Pope. . . . Southey, Wordsworth, and Coleridge had all of them a very natural antipathy to Pope; and I respect them for it, as the only original feeling or principle . . . they have contrived to preserve. But they have been joined in it by those who have joined them in nothing else: by the Edinburgh Reviewers, by the whole heterogeneous mass of living English poets. (*BL* ii.675)

Byron protects Pope from "vulgar eye" of the "self-educated genii" that find "it easier to distort themselves to the new models, than to toil after the symmetry of him who had enchanted their fathers" (*BL* ii.679–80). Although he upholds the legacy of Pope's refined neoclassical aesthetics, Byron also identifies with him as an ostracized poet, and he polemically and provocatively embraces Pope's reputation as a Scriblerian satirist.

In his *Letter to **** ****** [John Murray] on the Rev. W.L. Bowles' Strictures on the Life and Writings of Pope* (1821), Byron mocks a romantic poetics of "Nature" and denies that a poetic "'babble of green fields and of bare nature in general" equals Pope's "artificial imagery" (*BB* 57).[65] Byron instead defines the transcendental and ideal "poetical object" as "*architecture*": "Turn Westminster Abbey, or Saint Paul's into a powder magazine, their poetry, as objects, remains the same; the Parthenon was actually converted into one by the Turks . . . and part of it destroyed in consequence. Cromwell's dragoons stalled their steeds in Worcester cathedral; was it less poetical as an object than before?" (33) Byron conveys his universalist argument by questioning what a "foreigner" would perceive "as the most poetical of the towers before him: he will point out St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey, without, perhaps, knowing the names or associations of either." He will "pass over the 'tower for patent shot' . . . because its architecture is obviously inferior." Byron develops this metaphor for a poetics of architecture, and he crafts a satirical analogy based on the hybrid architecture of Pope's posthumous ruins:

> [The poetical populace of the present day] have raised a mosque by the side of a Grecian temple of the purest architecture; and more barbarous than the barbarians from whose practice I have borrowed the figure, they are not contented with their own grotesque edifice, unless they destroy the prior and purely beautiful fabric which preceded, and which shames them and theirs for ever and ever. I shall be told that amongst those I *have* been (or it may be, still *am*) conspicuous—true,

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[65] Byron denies Bowles's artificial "Nature," but cites his own experience of the nature of "all sorts of society, from the Christian prince and the Mussulman sultan and pacha, down to the London boxer, the '*flash and the swell,*' the Spanish muleteer, the wandering Turkish dervise, the Scotch highlander, and the Albanian robber;-to say nothing of the curious varieties of Italian social life. . . . Far be it for me to presume that there are now, or can be, such a thing as an *aristocracy of poets*" In a "Further Addenda" section of his second letter to Bowles, Byron attributes the "outcry about 'in-*door* nature' and 'artificial images'" to the neglect of Pope's "*Modern Gardening*." As the poet of Windsor Forest, frequenter of his friends' country retreats, and planner of a famous Twickenham garden (destroyed in 1807 by Baroness Howe): "Pope had seen all of nature that *England* alone can supply. . . . His various excellence is really wonderful: architecture, painting, *gardening*, are all alike subject to his genius. Be it remembered, that English *gardening* is the purposed perfecting of niggard *Nature*, and that without it England is but hedge-and-ditch, double-post-and rail" (*BL* ii.656). See Gary Dyer, "Thieves, Boxers, Sodomites, Poets: Being Flash to Byron's *Don Juan*," *PMLA* 116.3 (2001): 562–78; 89–107.

> and I am ashamed of it. I *have* been amongst the builders of this Babel, attended by a confusion of tongues, but *never* amongst the envious destroyers of the classic temple of our predecessor. . . . I look upon this as the declining age of English poetry. . . . There can be no worse sign of the taste of the times than the depreciation of Pope. (*BB* 47)[66]

While some of Pope's critics have chastised his Orientalist stereotyping, Phillip Martin aligns Byron's satirical "Babel" with his "deliberate indulgence in the art of sinking after the Popian manner. He does not expect his audience to see the joke; his amusement partly depends upon the fact that he can push the game to its limits without their noticing."[67] Byron adapts this Babel trope again in a letter to Moore: "As to Pope, I have always regarded him as the greatest name in our poetry. Depend on it, the rest are barbarians. He is a Greek Temple, with a Gothic Cathedral on one hand, and a Turkish mosque and all sorts of fantastic pagodas and conventicles about him" (*BL* ii.277).[68] In his letter to Murray, Byron asserts, if "any great national or natural convulsion could or should overwhelm your country in such sort, as to sweep Great Britain from the kingdoms of the earth, and leave only . . . a *dead language*, to be studied and read, and imitated by the wise of future and far generations, upon foreign shores," he is certain that "the surviving world would snatch Pope from the wreck, and let the rest sink with the people. He is the moral poet of all civilization; and . . . the national poet of mankind" (*BB* 54). Pope's

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[66] Byron's image satirizes Warton and Bowles's criticism: "I shall not presume to say that Pope is as high a poet as Shak[e]speare or Milton, though his enemy, Warton, places him immediately under them. I would no more say this than I would assert in the mosque (once Saint Sophia's), that Socrates was greater than Mahomet" (*BB* 51–53).

[67] Martin suggests that Byron's *Turkish Tales* (1813–1816) evince an "ironic disregard for the kind of exoticism valued by his public. The technique is learnt from Pope. . . . Whilst before Pope it was possible to write verse such as this without awareness of its bathetic effect, it was increasingly difficult to do so subsequently. When such breaches do occur, they are usually presented in a mocking sense which derives from Pope's own practice"; Martin, *Byron: a poet before his public* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1982),, 50–52; Chandler, "The Pope Controversy," 494; *England in 1819: The Politics of Literary Culture and the Case of Romantic Historicism* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1998), 354; 50–2. Cf. Nicholas Halmi, "The Very Model of an Epic Poem," *European Romantic Review* 21.5 (2010): 589–600, 598; Nigel Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992), 63.

[68] Byron insists, "You may call Shakespeare and Milton pyramids . . . but I prefer the Temple of Theseus or the Parthenon to a mountain of burnt brickwork" (*BL* ii.277).

archive embodies an indestructible aesthetic that not only transcends local and national traditions, but that also belongs among the universal masterworks of human civilization.

In the postscript to his second response to Byron's letter (14 April 1821), Bowles quarrels under the heading of "ARCHITECTURE." He writes, "You observe that it is the architecture of Westminster Abbey, that makes it poetical. . . . I affirm this is not so. Westminster Abbey is and must be, poetical, from moral associations more from its architecture. 'The object' cannot be seen without these associations, connected with time, and the illustrious dead."[69] William Hazlitt supported Bowles's argument in his June 1821 article in *London Magazine*, "Pope, Lord Byron, and Mr. Bowles." Hazlitt translates Bowles's allusion to "moral associations" as an implicit appeal to a "real web of associations . . . wound round any subject by nature and the unavoidable condition of humanity."[70] While a "real poetry, or poetry of the highest order" treats this invisible structure as the basis of Nature, the poet who abuses this natural "threshold" between immaterial and material will confound "the style of Tom Thumb with that of the Moor of Venice. . . . It is to mistake jest for earnest, and one thing for another."[71] Hazlitt alludes to Pope's Scriblerian inversions, and he ridicules Byron's comparison of the poet's archive to architecture: "We have the 'purest architecture' just before; and 'the prior fabric which

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[69] W.L. Bowles, *Two letters to the Right Honourable Lord Byron in answer to his letter on the Rev. W.L. Bowles's Strictures on the life and writings of Pope* (London, 1821) in Van Rennes, *Bowles, Byron, and the Pope Controversy*, 139.

[70] William Hazlitt, "Pope, Lord Byron, and Mr. Bowles," in Van Rennes, *Bowles, Byron, and the Pope Controversy*, 157. Further references cited *H*.

[71] Even a perfectly executed artificial art fails to equal the interwoven "spirit of poetry and spirit of humanity," for an inorganic structure "cannot make a sentiment" (*H* 156–57). In this sense, the "spinning jenny" Pope's genius lacks "the virtue of amalgamating with the imagination." His Scriblerian inversions are "like looking at the world through a microscope, where every thing assumes a new character and a new consequence, where things are seen in their minutest circumstances and slightest shades of difference, where the little becomes gigantic, the deformed beautiful, and the beautiful deformed. The wrong end of the magnifier is, to be sure, held to every thing." Hazlitt echoes Scriblerus's account of the bathetic artist, who renders "himself master" of a "happy and *anti-natural* way of thinking to such a degree . . . [that] his eyes should be like unto the wrong end of a perspective glass"; Wimsatt, ed., *Alexander Pope: Selected Poetry and Prose*, 314.

preceded', is rather more than an inelegant pleonasm" (*H* 151). This tautology of solid "structure" and a filmy "fabric" epitomizes irrationality. Hazlitt asserts, "Lord Byron's notions of art and poetry are sufficiently wild, romantic, far-fetched, obselete: his taste is Oriental, Gothic; his Muse is not domesticated. . . . His Lordship's nature, as well as his poetry, is something arabesque and outlandish" (*H* 153–58). According to Hazlitt, Byron is less concerned with the "Ruin" as a "poetical" object or "work of art" than he is interested in the ruin as an emblem of the "work of art o'erthrown. In it we see, as in a mirror, the life, the hopes, the labour of man defeated, and crumbling away under the slow hand of time; and all that he has done, reduced to nothing, or to a useless mockery."

Although George Gilfillan's 1855 introduction to Bowles's *Poetical Works* explains that Hazlitt's essay put an end to the infamous dispute between Byron and Bowles, I argue that Hazlitt's critique of the illogical "fabric" of the "purest architecture" did not disable Byron's poetic metaphor. As Byron invokes a conceptual conglomeration of three stereotypical aesthetics (romantic ruin, classical Parthenon, oriental Babel), he also alludes to a specific trope pertaining to the palimpsest of Pope's canon. Precedents for and variations of Byron's architectural trope can be found in criticism by Samuel Johnson, Mathias, D'Israeli, Bowles, DeQuincey, and the *Edinburgh Review* of the Croker-Elwin-Courthope edition of Pope. Furthermore, this architectural trope resurfaces in Byron's *Irish Avatar* and *Don Juan*. In a 15 September 1817 letter to John Murray, Byron announced that his recent study of Pope: "we are upon a wrong revolutionary poetical system, or systems, not worth a damn in itself. . . . I am more confirmed in this by having lately gone over some of our classics, particularly Pope." Having placed Moore's verse and his own "side by side with Pope's," Byron claims to have been "really astonished (I ought not to have been so) and mortified at the ineffable distance in point of sense, harmony, effect, and even imagination, passion, and invention, between the little

Queen Anne's man, and us of the Lower Empire."[72] Van Rennes argues that this study of Pope inspired Byron's "poetical commandments in the first canto of *Don Juan*: "Thou shalt believe in Milton, Dryden, Pope/ Thou shalt not set up Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey" (i.1633–34). If *Don Juan* serves to measure Byron's progress from the strident satire of *English Bards* and the exotic Orientalism of his *Turkish Tales*, we might argue that he moved toward a synthesis of epic and burlesque, as well as a combination of neoclassical, romantic, and Orientalist styles. Once we acknowledge Pope's Scriblerian influence on Byron, it becomes clear that Hazlitt's criticism in *London Magazine* neither concluded the Pope controversy nor demolished Byron's trope of a satirical architecture.

BYRON'S BABEL AND THE POPE CONTROVERSY

Just prior to the Pope controversy, Moore wrote in his *Journal* (23 February 1819) of a current interest in Bowles's criticism of Scriblerus's *Memoirs*: "Walked to Bowood to consult the volume of Pope that contains Scriblerus. Looked over Bowles's edition; was struck by the characteristic weakness and maudlin wordiness of his notes, contrasted as they are with the original remarks and rich erudition of Warton's that accompany them."[73] In the spring of 1821, Byron tried to draw Moore into the fray.[74] Moore later described the danger of his mutual friendship with Byron and Bowles (his Wiltshire

[72] Leslie A. Marchand, ed. *'So late into the night': Byron's Letters and Journals, vol. 5* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1976), 265; Van Rennes, *Bowles, Byron, and the Pope Controversy*, 52.

[73] Wilfred Dowden, ed. *The Journal of Thomas Moore, vol. 1* (Newark: Univ. of Delaware Press, 1983), 271

[74] On 3 May 1821, Byron asked, "have you got the Letter on Bowles? I do not recollect to have said any thing of *you* that could offend,—certainly, nothing intentionally. . . . What have I said of you? I am sure I forget. It must be something of regret for your approbation of Bowles. And did you *not* approve, as they say?" (*BL* ii 275–76).

neighbor).[75] He also claimed to have preserved manuscripts of Byron's little-known satires against Bowles: "it is not my intention to run the risk of reviving [controversy] by an enquiry into its origin or merits. . . . In the lively pages thus suppressed . . . there are some passages, of a general nature, too curious to be lost" (*BL* ii.279). One such work, *The Irish Avatar*, is a forgery of Bowles's purported reflections on George IV's travels to Dublin's court to escape the scandal of his wife's death in 1821. I contend that poem may be read as both a contribution to the Pope controversy and also an anticipation of the satirical Babel that Byron employed in the "Norman Abbey" cantos of *Don Juan*. After writing his *Irish Avatar* on 16 September 1821, Byron conveyed the manuscript to Moore at Paris, where only twenty copies were printed. Extracts appeared in the *Examiner* in 1822 and in Thomas Medwin's 1824 *Conversations*, yet the poem was not published in full until 1831—one year after George IV's death.[76] In a 17 September 1821 letter to Moore, Byron writes, "The enclosed lines, as you will directly perceive, are written by the Rev. W.L.B. Of course it is for *him* to deny them if they are not" (*BL* ii. 363). He dedicated the poem to Hugh Grattan and Moore, two members of the Society of United Irishmen—a group responsible for the rebellions of 1798 and 1803. These suppressed uprisings were used to justify the "unnatural union"[77] of Britain and Ireland in 1800.

In 1901, E.H. Coleridge described Byron's poem as motivated by frustration toward the "servility of the Irish [Court that] had welcomed George IV with an outburst

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[75] Moore writes Byron and Bowles's eagerness "to avail themselves of every passing advantage, and convert even straws into weapons on an emergency, my two friends, during their short warfare, contrived to place me in that sort of embarrassing position, the most provoking feature of which is, that it excites more amusement than sympathy. . . . While by one friend I was thus unconsciously, if not innocently, drawn into the scrape, the other was not slow in rendering me the same friendly service" (*BL* ii.339).

[76] Byron, *The Irish Avatar*, ed. Peter Cochran http://petercochran.files.wordpress.com/2009/03/the_irish_avatar.pdf Website accessed 24 March, 2011.

[77] David A. Wilson, *Thomas D'Arcy McGee: Passion, reason, and politics, 1825–1857, vol. 1* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 2008), 172.

of enthusiastic loyalty, when he entered Dublin in triumph within ten days of the death of Queen Caroline."[78] George IV departed for Dublin to avoid the scandal and unrest caused by the London funeral procession of his estranged and exiled Queen Consort—a popular favorite among opponents of the Regency. E.H. Coleridge portrays Byron's topical satire as a "running comment on the pages of the *Morning Chronicle*" from "August 8–August 18, 1821," when it printed "effusive leading articles, edged with black borders, on the Queen's illness, death, funeral procession, etc., over against a column (in small type) headed 'The King in Dublin.'" Coleridge highlights Byron's satirical vehemence against the corruption of the Court: "Goethe said that 'Byron's verses on George IV . . . were the sublime of hatred.'" He further explains Byron's underlying Orientalist satire: "The word 'Avatar' is not only applied ironically to George IV, as the 'Messiah of Royalty,' but metaphorically to the poem, which would descend in the 'Capacity of the Preserver' (see Sir W. Jones, *Asiatick Research*, i, 234)." Jones's relevant essay "On the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India" features images that resonate with Pope's Goddess Dulness: "That the *Satya*, of (if we may venture so to call it) the *Saturnian* age, was in truth the age of the *general* flood, will appear from a close examination of the ten *Avitárs*, or *Descents*, of the deity in the capacity of a preserver," to quell a mounting "pride and impiety."[79] In the spring of 1821, Byron not only tried to draw Moore into the Pope controversy, but he also consulted him on "Asiatick history" and on "poetry of the *Asiatic* kind—I mean Asiatic, as the Romans called 'Asiatic oratory,' and not because the scene is Oriental" (*BP* 290–95). Classical rhetoricians contrast this mode of Asiatic oratory with the elevated and refined "Attic" style, and highlight its excessive and overblown delivery, sophistical and

[78] E.H. Coleridge, ed., *The works of Lord Byron, vol. 4* (London, 1901), 555–56.

[79] Sir William Jones, *Dissertations and miscellaneous pieces relating to the history and antiquities, the arts, sciences, and literature of Asia* (Dublin, 1797), 16.

sparkling wit, and diffuse vacillation between miscellaneous topics.[80] Byron uses Asiatic oratory to target the barbarism of Britain's poetic and political aristocracy.[81] One week prior to sending Moore the *Irish Avatar*, Byron wrote: "If I ever *do* return to England . . . I will write a poem to which *English Bards, etc*., shall be New Milk, in comparison. Your present literary world of mountebanks stands in need of such an Avatar" (*BL* ii.362).

In *The Irish Avatar*, Byron imagines Ireland's bards hailing George IV's arrival in Dublin's Court.[82] He echoes Pope's satire on the Georgian monarchy in the *Dunciad*, in which he asks the muse why "Still Dunce the second reigns like Dunce the first" (*A* 721).[83] He depicts Ireland's bards considering how to venerate George IV's arrival:

> Aye! 'Build him a dwelling!' let each give his mite!
>
> Till, like Babel, the new royal dome hath arisen!
>
> Let thy beggars and helots their pittance unite—
>
> And a palace bestow for a poor-house and prison!
>
> Spread—spread for Vitellus, the royal repast,
>
> Till the gluttonous despot be stuffed to the gorge!
>
> And the roar of his drunkards proclaim him at last

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[80] See Henry Hardwicke, *History of Oratory and Orators* (London: G.P. Putnam, 1896), 53, 97, 386.

[81] Byron's Asiatic or "*pamby*" satire can also be found in *The Island, or Christian and his Comrades* (1823). He revised Admiral Bligh's account of the mutiny on the Bounty in an imitation of John Martin's two volumes of William Mariner's travels to the Tonga Islands [the 'Martin/Mariner' volumes]. McGann describes the setting as "B[yron's] Greece in Polynesian trappings. . . . the poem's romanticism involves a commitment to certain social values which B[yron] equates with 'civilization'. Because the poem's representatives of traditional authority are relatively blind to those values—whatever other virtues they are shown to possess—*The Island* involves a sharp critique of Europe's barbarism"; *The Complete Poetical Works, vol. 7* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 134.

[82] E.H. Coleridge, ed., *The Works of Lord Byron, vol. IV*, 555.

[83] He also parodies Pope's Autumn pastoral, adopting lines redirected from a male-to-male song to a male-to-female song in editions after 1717: "He comes, my Shepherd comes!—Now cease my Lay"/ "She comes, my *Delia* comes!" (i.53). In the *Irish Avatar*, Ireland's bards exclaim George IV's arrival: "he comes! the Messiah of Royalty comes!"

The Fourth of the fools and oppressors called 'George'![84]

Whereas Byron's notes to *Childe Harold's Pilgrimmage* (1813) had likened oppressed Irish Catholics to modern-day Greeks living under Ottoman rule, his *Irish Avatar* mocks this union of Britain and Ireland in the satirical image of Babel.[85] Byron's postscript allegorizes Ireland's colonial condition: "*And Ireland, like a bastinadoed elephant, kneeling to receive the paltry rider*." He also forges the signature, "W.L.B. ** M.A., and written with a view to a Bishoprick." In his pamphlet to Moore in September 1821, Byron explained, "*The enclosed lines, as you will directly perceive, are written by the Rev. W.L. Bowles. Of course it is for* him *to deny them, if they are not*."[86] Given this

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[84] E.H. Coleridge, ed. *The Works of Lord Byron, vol. IV*, 556–59.

[85] In his supplementary "Additional Note, on the Turks" in canto two of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Byron had likened Greeks under Ottoman control to "a kind of Eastern Irish papists," insofar as they "have a college . . . where the heterodox receive much the same kind of countenance from the Ottoman as the Catholic college from the English legislature. Who shall then affirm, that the Turks are ignorant bigots, when they thus evince the exact proportion of Christian charity which is tolerated in the most prosperous and orthodox of all possible kingdoms? . . . And shall then we emancipate our Irish Helots? Mahomet forbid! We should then be bad Mussulmans, and worse Christians; at present we unite the best of both—jesuitical faith, and something not much inferior to Turkish toleration." *The Works of Lord Byron, vol. 1*, 5 vols. (London, 1823), 192. In *Lalla Rookh*, Moore's narrator describes the "ruins of a strange and awful looking tower, which seemed old enough to have been the temple of some religion no longer known. . . . [The singular ruin of] this tower might perhaps be a relic of some of those dark superstitions, which had prevailed in that country before the light of Islam dawned upon it." His protagonist offends a bigoted critic by depicting it as a structure of prior religion ruined by Muslim monotheists: "That venerable tower . . . was the remains of an ancient Fire Temple, built by those Ghebers or Persians of the old religion, who many hundred years since, had fled hither from their Arab conquerors, preferring liberty and their altars in a foreign land to the alternative of apostasy or persecution in their own. It was impossible, he added, not to feel interested in the many glorious and but unsuccessful structures, which had been made by these original natives of Persia to cast off the yoke of their bigoted conquerors." Moore implies the Irish-Catholic/English Protestant allegory: "It was the first time that Feramorz had ever ventured upon so much prose before Fadladeen, and it may easily be conceived what effect such prose as this must have produced upon that most orthodox and most pagan-hating personage. He sat for some minutes aghast, ejaculating only at intervals, 'Bigoted conquerors!—sympathy with the Fire-worshippers!'. . . . Feramorz, happy to take advantage of the almost speechless horror of the Chamberlain, proceeded to say he knew a melancholy story, connected with the events of one of those struggles of the brave Fire-worshippers against their Arab masters"; Moore, *Lalla Rookh: An Oriental Romance* (New York: Dial Press, 1930), 88.

[86] After turning away from literary criticism during the era of Catholic Emancipation, Bowles composed an antiquarian text on the Egyptian origins of a continental Celtic paganism, but also of the esoteric monotheism preserved by provincial Druids. Whereas Druids prepared for Protestantism's advent, this framework might re-interpret the vulgar superstition of the Celts. Bowles offers a material history unavailable to its inheritors: "Few and scattered are the monumental remains that give rise to these remarks. The whole arrangement of the mysterious scene is dissolved: but who of cultivated feelings can survey

explicit allusion, Byron likely intended his *Irish Avatar* to be read in tandem with his comparison of Pope's romantic legacy to a neoclassical, gothic, and oriental Babel.

By virtue of acknowledging the polemical contexts of Byron's image of Babel, we can grasp hitherto unnoticed connections between his satirical poetry and the Pope controversy. While James Chandler and J.J. Van Rennes have contextualized *Don Juan* in relation to the Pope controversy, Harold Bloom also explains the poem as a synthesis of the satire of the *Dunciad*, theodicy of *Essay on Man*, and mock-heroic of *Rape of the Lock*.[87] In his dedication to *Don Juan*, Byron argues that an able reader of Wordsworth will be equipped "To add a story to the Tower of Babel."[88] His narrator also employs the "Babel" trope to introduce Juan's entry into Gulbeyaz's Ottoman harem (*DJ* v.470–71,

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these venerated relics unmoved? The Turk sits in sullen apathy amidst the works of the MIGHTY OF PAST AGES with which he is surrounded—he looks on these works with senseless indifference, or adds his petty havoc to the havoc of resistless Time." In his dedication of the study to Rev. Thomas Burgess, President of the Royal Society of Literature, Bowles introduces "matters obscure indeed and recondite, but connected in no slight degree, however hitherto unnoticed, with our national antiquities, and not entirely foreign from some greater and more important views"; Bowles, *Hermes Britannicus, A Dissertation on the Celtic Deity Teutates* (London, 1828), 7, 3.

[87] Harold Bloom states, "Byron's poetic idol was Pope, who kept his finest satiric strain for the *Dunciad* and wrote his theodicy, without overt satire, in the *Essay on Man*. Had Pope tried to combine the two works in the form of an Italianate medley or mock-heroic romance, something like *Don Juan* might have resulted. Byron's major work is his *Essay on Man*, *Dunciad*, *Rape of the Lock*, and a good deal more besides"; *The Visionary Company: A Reading of English Romantic Poetry, Revised & Enlarged Edition* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1971), 258. In the harem scenes of *Don Juan*, for example, Byron mingles several separate allusions to *Rape of the Lock*. Gulbeyaz's servant, Baba, prepares Juan to enter the harem by adorning him at a mirror in the costume of a beautiful woman (or a "Turkish Dandy"). Whereas Pope's narrator states of Belinda, "If to her share some female errors fall,/ Look on her face, and you'll forget them all" (ii.17–18), Byron travesties Belinda in Guleyaz "Yet even her tyranny had such a grace,/ The women pardon'd all except her face" (v.903–4). Byron compares Dudú to an innocent Belinda: "In perfect innocence she then unmade/ Her toilet, which cost little, for she was/ A child of Nature carelessly array'd" (v.473–75). Martin Maner compares Byron's protagonist and Pope's Scriblerian persona, arguing that the puncturing of these thin disguises reveals layers irony; Maner, "Pope, Byron, and the Satiric Persona," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 20.4 (1980): 557–73; see also, Irvin Ehrenpreis, *Literary Meaning and Augustan Values* (Charlottesville: Univ. of Virginia Press, 1974), 49–59.

[88] Byron, *Don Juan and Other Poems*, ed. Louis I. Bredvold (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1935), 160. Further references cited *DJ*.

489–504).[89] These scenes are saturated with imitations of Pope, and they feature a love triangle that foreshadows the one in the final Norman Abbey cantos.[90] The final four Norman Abbey cantos of *Don Juan* conform to a cohesive design, which the narrator identifies in Canto XII: "Here the twelfth Canto of our introduction/ Ends. When the body of the book's begun,/ You'll find it of a different construction/ From what some people say 'twill be when done" (*DJ* xii, 689–92). Although Byron died before completing his masterpiece, the final cantos on Don Juan's love triangle in the ruins of Norman Abbey suggest an implicit adaptation of Scriblerus's Double Mistress episode.

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[89] After Juan first undergoes his metamorphosis ("A perfect transformation"), the narrator proclaims his entry onto a "soil . . . fertile in adventures strange and new" (*DJ* v.637; 661–62). Baba leads Juan to the threshold of a chamber guarded by two "allied" dwarfs:

> Two little dwarfs, the least you could suppose,
> Were sate, like ugly imps, as if allied
> In mockery to the enormous gate which rose
> O'er them in almost pyramidic pride. . . .
> The wondrous hideousness of those small men,
> Whose colour was not black, nor white, nor gray,
> But an extraneous mixture, which no pen
> Can trace, although perhaps the pencil may;
> They were mis-shapen pigmies, deaf and dumb,—
> Monsters, who cost no less a monstrous sum. . . .
> They spoke by signs—that is, not spoke at all;
> And looking like two incubi, they glared. . .
> It was as if their little looks could poison
> Or fascinate whome'er they fix'd their eyes on (v.691–704; 713–720

[90] Amidst the splendor of the Ottoman palace, Juan fails to observe the "'Nil Admirari'" (not to admire) precept of Horace, citing the opening lines of book one, epistle six of Pope's translation. The narrator reasons archly: "thus Pope quotes the precept to re-teach/ From his translation; but had *none admired*,/ Would Pope have sung, or Horace been inspired?" (v.805–7). Juan engages in a harem love-triangle: "Lolah was dusk as India and as warm;/ Katinka was a Georgian, white and red. . . . A kind of sleepy Venus seem'd Dudù" (vi.321–329). Pope depicts Scriblerus's love-triangle with Lindamira-Indamora in the *Memoirs*: "Lindamira's eyes were of a lovely blue; Indamora's were black and piercing. Lindamira's cheeks might rival the blush of the morning; in Indamora the Lilly overcame the Rose. Lindamira's tresses were of paler Gold, while the locks of Indamora were black and glossy as the Plumes of a Raven" (*MS* 146). When confronted by the harem matron for her surprise on the discovery of Juan's gender, Dudù invents a Chaucerian dream-vision of Eve and the Tree of Knowledge, compelling her recollection of *Tristram Shandy*: "'I've heard of stories of a cock and bull;/ But visions of an apple and a bee,/ . . . Would make us think the moon is at its full" (*DJ* 633–34; 636).

In the first stanza of *Don Juan*, Byron foreshadows the conclusion of his poem. He introduces the hero, "We all have seen him in the pantomime,/ Sent to the Devil somewhat ere his time (i.7–8). It is possible that Byron completed this design, since the final cantos depict Don Juan accompanying a parliamentarian, Lord Henry, and his wife, Lady Adeline Amundeville, "the fair most fatal Juan ever met" (xiii.91) to "a mansion very fine," a "Gothic Babel of a thousand years," where "oaks as olden as their pedigree/ Told of their sires, a tomb in every tree" (xiii.393–400). Having been confiscated by Henry VIII and destroyed during England's civil war, the Abbey is made up of a "Mix'd Gothic" that "Form'd a whole, which, irregular in its parts,/ Yet left a grand impression on the mind'" (xiii.436; 532–33). As Lord and Lady Amundeville's aristocratic party collects at the ruined Abbey, they also collide with a group of rude rustics who attend his political open house. There also appears an architect with a design of satirical renovation:

> There was a modern Goth, I mean a Gothic
>
> Bricklayer of Babel, call'd an architect
>
> Brought to survey these grey walls, which though so thick
>
> Might have from time acquired some slight defect
>
> Who, after rummaging the Abbey though thick
>
> And thin, produced a plan whereby to erect
>
> New buildings of correctest conformation,
>
> And throw down old, which he call'd *restoration*. (xvi.505–512)

Within the architectural palimpsest of this Gothic Babel, Byron introduces the subplot of a love intrigue caused by a structural "defect" in the "vacant, though a splendid mansion" of Lady Adeline's "heart." Byron's narrator explains the disastrous consequences of Lady Adeline's "undoing": "A wavering spirit may be easier wreck'd,/ Because 'tis frailer,

doubtless, than a stanch one;/ But when the latter works its own undoing,/ Its inner crash is like an earthquake's ruin" (xiv.673–74; 677–80). While arranging a marriage for Don Juan, Adeline falls prey to his charms and represses a "lurking demon/ Of double nature, and thus doubly named" (xiv.705–6). While conniving a match, Adeline omits Aurora Raby's name and sparks Juan's curiosity. As a result of Adeline's suppression, Juan is immersed in a rivalry between two mistresses: "By some odd chance too, he was placed between/ Aurora and the Lady Adeline—/ A situation difficult, I ween" (xv.593–95). The love triangle between Adeline, Aurora Raby, and Don Juan emerges in a broader context of intrigue within the Abbey's walls, but it also allegorizes a literary critical dispute pertaining to the historical context of controversy over the British nation's literary canon.

Byron's narrator compares Adeline and Aurora Raby to two opposed standards of poetic genius. Adeline, the narrator attests, "Was weak enough to deem Pope a great poet,/ And what was worse, was not ashamed to show it./ Aurora—since we are touching upon taste,/ Which now-a-days is the thermometer/ By whose degrees all characters are class'd—/Was more Shakesperian, if I do not err" (xvi.422–28). The narrator describes Adeline's stoicism in terms borrowed "from the Chinese," though he depicts her passions as a "glowing India of the soul" (xiii.272; 306). Adeline mocks the rude throng at Lord Henry's banquet, employing the techniques of Pope's rival: "Like Addison's 'faint praise,' so wont to damn,/ Her own but served to set off every joke" (xvi.873–77). Beneath her polite exterior, Adeline possesses a contradictory, spectral quality. After glimpsing her duplicity ("that same devilish doctrine of the Persian"), Juan begins to "doubt how much of Adeline was *real*" (xiii.325; xvi.816). Meanwhile, he develops an attraction to Aurora Raby, who has awakened "feelings he had lately lost/ Or harden'd; feelings which, perhaps ideal,/ Are so divine, that I must deem them real:—" (xvi.902–4).

Aurora Raby is an "orphan," a "Catholic . . . sincere and austere," and disconnected from her surroundings: "She gazed upon a world she scarcely knew" (xv.345; 361; 369). In the contest between Aurora Raby and Adeline, Juan engages in a third affair with Lady Fitz-Fulke. This unfaithful wife of "Lord Augustus Fitz-Plantagenet" visits Don Juan under the cover of night, and he initially mistakes her for the Black Friar that has haunted the Abbey since its Tutor confiscation. Before he learns of Lady Fitz-Fulke's schemes, Don Juan encounters the Black Friar in a pastiche of Scriblerian and Shakespearean allusions:

> As Juan mused on mutability,
>
> Or on his mistress—terms synonymous—. . . .
>
> A supernatural agent—or a mouse,
>
> Whose little nibbling rustle will embarrass
>
> Most people as it plays along the arras.
>
> It was no mouse, but lo! a monk, array'd
>
> In cowl and beads, and dusky garb, appear'd, . . .
>
> He moved as shadowy as the Sisters weird (xvi.153–54; 158–162; 166)

The next morning, Lord Henry questions whether he has been "'Broke in upon by the Black Friar of late'" (xvi.276). Adeline recounts the history of the Friar—a joint tenant in co-habitation with the Abbey's current residents. Adeline sings, "But beware! beware! of the Black Friar,/ He still retains his sway,/ For he is yet the church's heir/ Whoever may be the lay,/ Amundeville is lord by day,/ But the monk is lord by night" (xvi.353–58).

When the Black Friar appears at the door of Don Juan's room at the conclusion of canto sixteen, he boldly ventures to confront the supernatural mystery. He approaches the Friar by groping along the Abbey's walls. As Juan extends his hand, he finds ("Wonder

upon wonder!") a "hard glowing bust,/ Which beat as if there was a warm heart under" (xvi.1058–60). He stumbles upon a burlesque epiphany to this metaphysical mystery:

> The ghost, if ghost it were, seem'd a sweet soul
>
> As ever lurk'd beneath a holy hood. . . .
>
> Back fell the sable frock and dreary cowl,
>
> And they reveal'd—alas! that e'er they should!
>
> In full, voluptuous, but *not o'er*grown bulk,
>
> The phantom of her frolic Grace—Fitz-Fulke! (xvi.1065–66; 1069–72)

When he confronts the Friar in the final lines of the poem, Juan learns of two hauntings in Norman Abbey—a Catholic ghost and a secretly depraved aristocracy: "How odd, a single hobgoblin's nonentity/ Should cause more fear than a whole host's identity!" (xvi.1047–48). Lady Fitz-fulke, an echo of the character "Fitz-scribble" in *English Bards*, represents the emblem of a romantic hypocrisy. In the fragmentary seventeenth canto, Byron's narrator asks, "Which best it is to encounter—Ghost, or none,/ 'Twere difficult to say—but Juan looked/ As if he had combated with more than one,/ Being wan and worn, with eyes that hardly brooked/ The light, that through the Gothic window shone."[91] In this seventeenth canto, Byron's narrator digresses on the uncertainty of public opinion:

> There is a commonplace book argument,
>
> Which glibly glides from every vulgar tongue
>
> When any dare a new light to present:
>
> 'If you are right, then everybody's wrong.'
>
> Suppose the converse of this precedent
>
> So often urged, so loudly and so long:

[91] E.H. Coleridge, ed., *The Works of Lord Byron, vol. 6*, 611–12.

'If you are wrong, then everybody's right.'

Was ever everybody yet so quite?[92]

Byron adapts Pope's infamous couplet in *An Essay on Man*: "For Wit's false mirror held up Nature's light;/ Show'd erring Pride, WHATEVER IS, IS RIGHT" (iv.394). Whereas *An Essay on Man* critiques the self-love of those who aspire to reform Nature according to their own private beliefs, Byron questions the certainty of popular opinion established on the basis of mutable and uncertain popular tastes. Insofar as the concluding cantos of *Don Juan* hint toward the influence of a Scriblerian archive portrayed as the antithesis of a sublime national and natural ideal of romantic aesthetics, Byron represents an uncanny persistence of Scriblerian satire within the ruined structure of a romantic British Babel.

BLACKWOOD'S AND THE POPE CONTROVERSY

In May of 1821, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* published a review ("Lord Byron and Pope") in response to Byron's recent prose criticism of Bowles. The review attacks Byron's poetic theory as "*radical* and leveling with a vengeance," and it gestures toward his attempt to "establish a sort of *Popedom* in the poetical, as well as in the religious world."[93] In September of 1821, *Blackwood's* released another essay on Byron's criticism, entitled "Why are Poets Indifferent Critics?" This essay questions why it is that "poets are, in truth, seldom good critics, that is to say great poets are seldom judicious critics of poetry."[94] While neutral critics are capable of dissecting literature, Byron's subjective criticism resembles that of a lover who cherishes a blemish in his mistress.[95]

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[92] E.H. Coleridge, ed., *The Works of Lord Byron, vol. 7* (London, 1903), 609.

[93] *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, Vol. 9* (London, 1821), 230.

[94] *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, vol. 10*, 181–82.

[95] "The lover may be brought to own that his mistress is, in the abstract, less handsome than some other women; but he cannot practically think that she is so, because he cannot feel that she is so. . . . His lordship of Byron is one of the most modern and eminent examples [of bad criticism]. This is apparent . . . in the

In March of 1825, a *Noctes Ambrosianae* dialogue shows the *Blackwood's* contributors explaining their varying positions relative to Pope, Byron, and Bowles. Each of the three participants bore a pseudonym: "Christopher North" [John Wilson], "the Ettrick Shepherd" [James Hogg], and "Timothy Tickler" [Robert Sym]. North and the Ettrick Shepherd attest to a fondness for Bowles's pious sonnets. North, however, scoffs at his malice toward Pope, and the Ettrick Shepherd cites his abuse of Byron. North offers a formalist and classical interpretation of Pope's virtues, while the Shepherd alternates between deliberate repression and subconscious fixation. Tickler, meanwhile (under the influence of strong drink), indicates his antagonistic desire for the group to "abuse our friend Bowles."[96] The Ettrick Shepherd undertakes a Scriblerian satire against Bowles and the Lake poets, while Tickler praises Roscoe's removal of Pope's Double Mistress.

Christopher North opens the dialogue by addressing the Shepherd: "[*N*:] Reach me over that pamphlet; I wish to light my cigar. The last speech and dying words of Rev. William Lisle Bowles! [*S*]: What! A new poem? I houp it is. . . . Is the pamphlet a poem? [*N*:] No, Shepherd, it is prose;—being a farther portion of Botheration about Pope" (*N* 12). North disagrees with Bowles's criticism "in his edition of Pope," for he "did not do justice to Pope's character as a man." He "was originally in the wrong respecting Pope's personal character, and he will be wrong until doomsday" *(N* 12–3), North concludes. The Shepherd claims to "care little about Pop," yet Tickler's prodding jogs his memory:

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recent Bowles controversy. . . . In his criticisms in the satire of 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers,' even when they are not warped by irritated passions, it would be difficult to shew any one rule to which he has adhered throughout; if there be any, it is the rule of contrariety. . . . With such feelings it were in vain to reason. Talk of utility or expediency! We might as well expect the lover to cut off his mistress's beautiful hair to prevent it coming out" (182).

[96] *Noctes Ambrosiane, vol. 1*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1864), 13. Further references cited *N*.

> Ay, ay—I recollect now some havers o' Bolls's about the Blounts—Martha and Theresa, I think, you call them. Puir wee bit hunched-backed, windle-strae-legged, gleg-eed, clever, acute, ingenious, sateerical, weel-informed, warm-hearted, real philosophical, and maist poetical creature, wi' his sounding translation o' a' Homer's works, that reads just like an original War-Yepic,—His Yessay on Man, that, in spite o' what a set o' ignoramus o' theological critics say about Bolingbroke and Crousass, and heterodoxy and atheism, and like havers, is just ane o' the best moral discourses that ever I heard in or out o' the poupit,—his Yepistles about the Passions, and sic like, in the whilk he goes baith deep and high, far deeper and higher baith than many a modern poet, who must needs be either in a diving bell or a balloon,—his Rape o' the Lock o' Hair, wi' all these sylphs floating about the machinery o' the Rosicrucian Philosophism, just perfectly yelegant and gracefu', and as gude, in their way, as ony thing o' my ain about fairies. (14)

The Ettrick Shepherd proceeds in his fevered Scots rendition, citing *Eloisa and Abelard* as "coorse in the subject matter" but "pathetic in execution," and praising *Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady* as "full of terror and pity." North then intervenes:

> [*N*:] Stop, James—You will run yourself out of breath. Why, you said, a few minutes ago, that you did not care much about Pope, and were not at all familiar with his works—you have them at your finger ends. [*S*:] I never ken what's in my mind till it begins to work. . . . when a' at ance, my sowl begins to hum like a hive about to cast off a swarm—out rush a thousand springing thocts, for a while circling round and round like verra bees—and then, like them too, winging their free and rejoicing way into the mountain wilderness . . . [and returning] redolent of blissful dreams gathered up in the sacred solitudes of Nature. Ha! ha! ha! ha! isna that Wordsworthian and sonorous? But we've forgotten wee Pop. Hae you ony mair to say anent him and Bolls? (14).

Tickler closes the conversation, frowning on denigrators of Pope: "It is a bad sign of the intellect of an age to depreciate the genius of a country's classics. . . . The Lake Poets began this senseless clamour against the genius of Pope. . . . Admirable Roscoe has edited Pope well, and he rebuts Bowles manfully and successfully" (15–6). While North and Tickler assert Pope's classical style and distinguishes him from the Double Mistress, the Ettrick Shepherd veers toward a Scriblerian satire against his romantic antagonists.

In the early years of *Blackwood's*, Hogg kept the periodical afloat with his profane Scriblerian parody, "Translation from an Ancient Chaldee Manuscript." Founded in April 1817 as *Edinburgh Monthly Magazine*, the periodical floundered under Thomas Pringle and James Cleghorn—two editors noteworthy for their hunchbacked stature. These two ceded control to William Blackwood, who re-launched it as *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. The shift in personnel was hailed by an Orientalist hoax of October of 1817. Hogg's "Chaldee Manuscript" attracted unprecedented attention and helped Blackwood rival Jeffrey's established *Edinburgh Review*. Although Blackwood purported Hogg's Old Testament allegory to be a satire on the prophetic founding of *Blackwood's* ("Ebony") in a forum provided by a "Double Beast" (Pringle and Cleghorn), Hogg's "Chaldee Manuscript" also provoked uproar for its Scriblerian subtext.[97] Hogg's preface describes the acquisition of the manuscript from "a gentleman whose attainments in Oriental Learning are well known to the public" (*NS* xvii). The narrator of the Old Testament fragment recounts his vision of a messenger who arrives "from the East":

> And I looked, and beheld a man clothed in plain apparel stood in the door of my house . . . and his name was as it had been the color of ebony. . . . And I turned mine eyes, and beheld two beasts came from the land of the borders of the South. . . . And they proffered unto him a Book, and they said unto him[:]. . . . we will put words into the Book that shall astonish the children of thy people. . . . and all the world wondered after the Book, and after the two beasts that had put such amazing words into the Book.[98]

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[97] R. Shelton MacKenzie's preface to his edition of *Blackwood's Noctes Ambrosianae* explains: "Words cannot adequately describe the dismay, astonishment, wrath and hatred, which greeted the seventh number of Blackwood, containing the Chaldee manuscript. There was a wild outcry, all through Edinburgh, before the Magazine had been one hour published. . . . the interests of religion and society demanded the prosecution, with a view to the heavy punishment, of Mr. Blackwood, for having published 'a ribald and profane parody upon the Bible.' Greatly alarmed, Blackwood determined to withdraw the offensive article. He had actually issued only two hundred numbers of the Magazine. Every other copy that went out, was *minus* the 'Chaldee'. . . . I searched all the national and public libraries in England and Scotland . . . and never succeeded in meeting one containing the first (and suppressed) edition of No. VII., containing the Chaldee"; MacKenzie, ed., *Noctes Ambrosianae* (New York, 1854), ix.

[98] R. Shelton MacKenzie, ed. *Noctes Ambrosianae*, xviii–xix.

13. Illustration, George Cruikshank, "Scriblerus Oxoniensis." In Richard Harris Barham, *Martin's Vagaries, Being a Sequel to 'A Tale of a Tub'* (London, 1843).

Long after the Pope controversy subsided, *Blackwood's* continued to publish satires on Scriblerus's apocryphal Orientalist fragments.[99] A *Blackwood's* contributor in the 1840s, Richard Harris Barham, adopted the pseudonym "Scriblerus Oxoniensis" in his satire,

[99] Hogg re-iterates this found-manuscript theme in *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824) and in his "Scots Mummy" article in the August 1823 issue of *Blackwood's*. These texts conjure a fictional doppelganger named "Gil-Martin." As Hogg's Calvinist protagonist attempts to escape the crimes he and Gil-Martin commit in the name of a fervent Calvinist interpretation of scripture, he recounts his transformation into a likeness of this alter-ego, "I put on [Gil-Martin's] green frock coat, buff belt, and a sort of turban that he always wore on his head. . . . This was a feeling quite new to me; and if there were virtues in the robes of an illustrious foreigner. . . they turned my heart to that which was evil, horrible, and disgustful"; Hogg, *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (London, 1824), 318–19.

Martin's Vagaries: Being a Sequel to 'A Tale of a Tub' (1843). George Cruikshank illustrated this novel, in which an "Otaheitian Professor" discovers the manuscript conclusion of Swift's *Tale of a Tub*. The fragment recounts Martin's dilemma to either join a new cabal of novelists or remain in a state of connubial bliss: "'What!' quoth he, 'turn my back upon the ladies! abandon the embraces of Mrs. Martin!—impossible!"[100]

The "Malay" scenes in Thomas DeQuincey's *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* (1821) also imitate Scriblerian allusions popular among *Blackwood's* contributors. The *Confessions* first appeared in 1821 in *London Magazine* and were printed as a book in 1822. Near the conclusion of part one of the *Confessions*, DeQuincey recounts the arrival of a stranger from the East to his Grasmere cottage: "One day a Malay knocked at my door."[101] After this strange appearance, the Malay reappears in the palimpsest of the opium eater's imagination: "This incident I have digressed to mention, because this Malay . . . fastened afterwards upon my dreams, and brought other Malays with him worse than himself, that ran 'a muck' at me, and led me into a world of troubles" (*OE* 63–64). This Malay "muck" derives from contexts of the Pope controversy. Scriblerus's "Testimonies of Authors" in the 1729 *Dunciad Variorum* depicts Pope as "one of the most *dangerous persons in this kingdom* . . . he is an *open* and *mortal* enemy to his *country*; a monster, that *will*, one day, shew as *daring a soul* as a *mad Indian, who runs* a *muck* to kill the first Christian he meets" (*A* 337). John Dennis alluded twice to the

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[100] Richard Harris Barham, *Martin's Vagaries, being a sequel to 'A Tale of a Tub'*, (London, 1843), 37.

[101] Thomas DeQuincey, *Confessions of an English Opium Eater and Other Writings* (New York: Penguin, 2003), 62. Further references cited *OE*. Nigel Leask has highlighted DeQuincey's terror toward the degeneration of imperial identity via a process of "*orientalization*," in which "Imperialist and oriental subject are one." In his *Confessions*, DeQuincey narrates his "repressed fear of the Eurocentric myth of a 'westering' civilization. . . [a] fear of coming round full circle, of discovering the Other in the Same." Leask associates the "exotic imagery" of DeQuincey's opium nightmares with a double-anxiety toward "*imperialism* as well as . . . the East. The reductive geographical 'condensations' of the DeQuinceyan dream-work (India, China, Egypt) evoke a schematics and 'comprehensive vision' of orientalism as described by Edward Said, but here voided of any will to power"; *British Romantic Writers and the East*, 227–28.

"muck" in *Remarks on Mr. Pope's Rape of the Lock* (1728): "[In the *Dunciad*, Pope] not only attack'd persons of far greater Merit than himself, but, like a mad *Indian* that runs a muck, struck at every Thing that came in his Way. . . . *I* myself know a little Monster, who, I dare venture to prophesy, will one Day shew as *daring* a Soul as a mad *Indian* who runs a muck."[102] In 1780, the *Monthly Review* described Thomas Mathias, the author of the *Dissertation, by Martinus Scriblerus, on the Utility and Importance of Oriental Languages*: "'He runs amuck, and tilts at all he meets.'/ With regard to the disgusting features by which this gentleman may be known from every author, e.g. an ostentatious parade of learning."[103] In volume one of *Curiosities of Literature* (1791), D'Israeli cites Pope and Dryden's use of the Malay word, "muck."[104] In 1817, T.J. Wooler alluded to Pope's "muck" in the motto of his periodical, *The Black Dwarf*: "Satire's my weapon: but I'm too discreet,/ To run a muck and tilt at all I meet:/ I only wear it in a land of Hectors,/ Thieves, supercargoes, sharpers, and directors."[105] In 1829, Moore denied having read Byron's satire on Bowles, although he had heard "that his pen had 'run a-muck' in it."

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[102] John Dennis, *Remarks on Mr. Pope's Rape of the lock* (London, 1728), iv. 40.

[103] See "The Author of *The Pursuits of Literature*," *Gentleman's Magazine* (February 1842), 123–39, n128.

[104] D'Israeli writes, "I think it is this which our sailors call, 'To run a muck.' Thus Dryden writes—'Frontless, and satire-proof, he scours the streets,/ And *runs* an Indian *Muck* at all he meets.'/ Thus also Pope—"Satire's my weapon: but I'm too discreet,/ To *run a muck* and tilt at all I meet./ Johnson could not discover the derivation of the word *muck*. To 'run a muck' is an old phrase for attacking madly and indiscriminately; and has since been ascertained to be a Malay word"; *Curiosities of Literature* (London, 1798), 381. D'Israeli may also cite James Cook, who wrote of the Batavian inhabitants, "These are the people among whom the practice that is called *a mock*, or running a muck, has prevailed for time immemorial. It is well known, that to run a muck in the original sense of the word, is to get intoxicated with opium, and then rush into the street with a drawn weapon, and kill whoever comes in the way, till the party is himself either killed or taken prisoner"; John Hawkesworth, ed. *An account of the voyages undertaken by the order of his present Majesty for making discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, vol. III,* 3 vols. (London, 1773), 350. The phrase was deployed in reference to Byron's attacks on Bowles and the *Edinburgh Review*; see John Watkins, *An Historical and Critical Memoir of the Life and Writings of the Right Honorable Lord Byron* (London, 1822), 81; "Lord Byron's Character and Writings" *North American Review, vol. 21* (Boston, 1825): 300–59, 311; Willard Phillips, *Review of the Character and Writings of Lord Byron* (London, 1826), 30; Moore, ed., *Life of Lord Byron, with his Letters and Journals*, 503.

[105] *A* 615. Wooler's "Prospectus" obscures the origins of his authorial persona: "It may be required of us to declare whether the Black Dwarf emanates from the celestial regions, or from the shades of evil —

When DeQuincey's opium-eater falls under the "Circean spells" of narcotic dullness in the final fragmentary chapters of the "pains of opium," the repressed Malay runs amuck and awakens a frightening "creative state of the eye" that "seemed to arise between the waking and dreaming states of the brain in one point" (*OE* 75). The location of this creative power parodies *An Essay on Man*, which encourages readers to "Draw to one point, and to one centre bring/ Beast, Man, or Angel, Servant, Lord, or King" (iii.301–2). In *An Essay on Criticism*, Pope urges critics to "mark that point where sense and dullness meet." As the opium eater reads behind the veil of his conscious romantic imagination, he discovers a frightening point where self and other appear to coincide:

> The Malay has been my enemy for months. I have been every night, through his means, transported into Asiatic scenes. . . . Under the connecting feeling of tropical heat and vertical sun-lights, I brought together all the creatures, birds, beasts, reptiles, all trees and plants, usages and appearances, that are found in all tropical regions, and assembled them together in China and Indostan. From kindred feelings, I soon brought Egypt and all her gods under the same law. I was stared at, hooted at, grinned at, chattered at, by monkeys, by parakeets, by cockatoos. I ran into pagodas: and was fixed, for centuries, at the summit, or in secret rooms; I was the idol; I was the priest; I was worshipped; I was sacrified. I fled the wrath of Brama through all the forests of Asia: Vishnu hated me: Seeva

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whether he be an European sage or an Indian savage — whether he is subject to the vicissitudes of mortality, or a phantom of the imagination — in what shape he appears, by what authority he presumes to write — what object he has in view, and whether his designs are wicked or charitable. In answer to all these probably topics of enquiry, our simple reply is, that we are not at liberty to unfold all the secrets of his prison house, to ears of flesh and blood. . . . Were we to state what he is, the infallibility of the pope, the miracles of Mahomet, and all the wonders that wanton fancy ever drew, should appear probable and consistent to the story we shall unfold. But all these disclosures we must reserve, until better times ensure the civil treatment of so singular a stranger." After Wooler released the first issue of *The Black Dwarf* in January 1817, it soon reached circulation rates of nearly 12,000 readers. By 1819 Wooler "had become 'the fugleman of the Radicals'"; Richard Hendrix, "Popular Humor and *The Black Dwarf*," *The Journal of British Studies* 16.1 (1976): 108–28, 125 Stephen Edward Jones describes his protagonist as a combination of the "Dwarf of northern legend . . . a typical scapegoat-figure for the rural community, an outcast who lives just outside the pale but binds together the social group by serving as the focus of its superstitition and xenophobia" and an emblem of "the modern London underworld of grotesquely self-parodic and subversive radical orators, writers, artisans, and printers. The totemic persona of *The Black Dwarf* exists at the confluence of these two traditions and reveals their interdependence, while fusing the two in the potent farrago of its printed satiric performance"; *Satire and Romanticism* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 80, 84.

> laid wait for me. I came suddenly upon Isis and Osiris. I had done a deed, they said, which the ibis and the crocodile trembled at. I was buried, for a thousand years, in stone coffins, with mummies and sphinxes, in narrow chambers at the heart of eternal pyramids. I was kissed, with cancerous kisses, by crocodiles; and laid, confounded with all unutterable slimy things, amongst reeds and Nilotic mud. (*OE* 81–82)[106]

DeQuincey reconstructs Pope's imperative in *An Essay on Man* to align "Beast, Man, Angel, Servant, Lord, or King" and also echoes his mysterious web of material and immaterial creation: "Vast chain of being! which from God began,/ Nature's ethereal, human, angel, man/ Beast, bird, fish, insect! what no eye can see" (i.239–40). The opium eater's encounter with the crocodiles and mummies,[107] furthermore, seems to recall Lady Townley's burlesque dilemma with two lovers in *Three Hours After Marriage* (1717).

As a literary critic, DeQuincey took a particular concern with combating the subversive legacy of Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism.[108] DeQuincey even considered

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[106] Jorge Luis Borges explicitly parodies DeQuincey in his Pope-inspired tale, "The Immortal": "The most fleeting thought obeys an invisible design and can crown, or inaugurate, a secret form. . . . No one is anyone, one single immortal is all men. Like Cornelius Agrippa, I am god, I am hero, I am philosopher, I am demon, and I am world, which is a tedious way of saying that I do not exist"; Donald A. Yates and James E. Irby, eds. *Labyrinths*, 115. Borges describes his two-part model for "The Immortal" in a 1967 conversation with Richard Burgin. He combines the theological concept of ensoulment with the "mathematical idea that if time is endless, all things are bound to happen to all men, and in that case, after some thousand years, everyone of us would be a saint, a murderer, a traitor, an adulterer, a fool, a wise man. . . . I [also] thought of Homer forgetting his Greek, forgetting that he had composed the *Iliad*, admiring a not too faithful translation of it by Pope. . . . And I gave him the name of the wandering Jew Cartaphilus. I thought that helped the tale"; Burgin, ed., *Jorge Luis Borges: Conversations* (Oxford, MI: Univ. of Mississippi, 1998), 24–25.

[107] Bowles draws conspicuous attention to the Scriblerian provenance of this work: "Pope was certainly as much concerned in writing this Farce, as he was in writing the Memoirs of Scriblerus; it was a *joint production*. . . I have thought it might gratify curiosity, if I gave it a place"; Bowles, ed., *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq*. (London, 1806), n245.

[108] At the conclusion to *Suspiria de Profundis* (1845)—the sequel to *Confessions of an English Opium Eater*—DeQuincey offers an allegory on doublings of the imperial self. A dying mother, in her "one parting act of communion with the darling twins of her heart," urges them to avoid "too profound a stream of prosperity." Just as she utters this warning, "clouds . . . swallowed up the vision of her beloved *twins*" (*OE* 185–87). One twin marries an East-India officer and relocates to "a far distant land." The other stays in Britain, and is jilted by one who, like herself, "became a wreck." DeQuincey then displays a "third generation," when one twin's granddaughter forfeits her British identity:
"But what will surprise you most is—that, although a child of pure English blood, she speaks very little English; but more Bengalee than perhaps you will find it convenient to construe. That is her Ayah [the Hindu nurse of a British family in India], who comes up from behind at a pace so different from her

releasing an edition of Pope's works to follow Roscoe's.[109] He penned the first of several essays on Pope for the *Encyclopedia Britannica* in 1842. This essay emphasizes the poet's Catholicism, disability, and family poverty. It also suggests that Pope was kicked out of school for satirizing his master, that his poetic genius resulted from failed attempts at auto-didactic language learning, and that his philosophy was derived from readings of polemical foreign theology. DeQuincey's May 1851 essay in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* concerns Pope's inability to edify the nation with his didactic poetry: "Whom shall we pronounce a fit writer to be laid before an auditory of working-men, as a model of what is just in composition—fit either for conciliating their regard to literature at first or afterwards for sustaining it?"[110] DeQuincey critiques Pope's unstable aesthetic modes:

> I admire Pope in the very highest degree; but I admire him as a pyrotechnic artist for producing brilliant and evanescent effects out of elements that have hardly a moment's life within them. There is a flash and a sudden explosion, then there is a dazzling coruscation, all purple and gold; the eye aches under the suddenness of a display that, springing like a burning arrow out of darkness, rushes back into that darkness with arrowy speed, and in a moment is all over. (311)

DeQuincey insists, "Pope was all jets and tongues of flame; all showers of scintillation and sparkle. . . . Pope obeyed, spasmodically, an overmastering febrile paroxysm." His didactic poetry represents a "dream of drunken eclecticism" and an "enormous falsehood . . . practiced from youth to age." An "eclectic philosopher," Pope "proclaims his self-complacency in the large liberty of error purchased by his renunciation of all controlling

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youthful mistress's. But, if their paces are different, in other things they agree most cordially; and dearly they love each other. In reality, the child has passed her whole life in the arms of this ayah. She remembers nothing elder than *her*; eldest of things is the ayah in her eyes; and, if the ayah should insist on her worshipping herself as the goddess Railroadina or Steamboatina, that made England and the sea and Bengal, it is certain that the little thing would do so" (*OE* 189). The narrative resembles DeQuincey's essay on "The Palimpsest," which details the alchemical process by which a parchment is "exorcized" of traces no longer valuable to a modern reader. He asserts that such processes leave deep traces of original imprints.

[109] Courthope explains, "The tide begins to turn in the direction of disparagement with DeQuincey"; *The Works of Alexander Pope, vol. 5* (London, 1889), 46.

[110] Thomas DeQuincey, "Carlisle on Pope," *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, vol. 18* (Edinburgh, 1851), 311.

principles. . . . he is free to go stray in any one of ten thousand false radiations from the true centre of rest" (312). As opposed to moving "through a jungle of controversies," a "briefer" approach would be "to expose a few of Pope's *personal* falsehoods, and falsehoods as to notorieties of *fact*" (313). DeQuincey claims that Pope "was incapable of a sincere thought or a sincere emotion. Nothing that ever he uttered, were it even a prayer to God, but he had a fancy for reading it backwards." DeQuincey reverses D'Israeli's *Quarterly Review* satire on Bowles's "black art of Criticism;—reading the Lord's prayer backwards." This account of Pope's heterodoxy persisted into the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. Leslie Stephen, for example, claims that Pope "unintentionally fell into sheer pantheism. He was not yielding to the logical instinct which carried out a theory to its legitimate development, but obeying the imaginative impulse which cannot stop to listen to the usual qualifications and safeguards of the orthodox reasoner. The best passages . . . are those in which he is frankly pantheistic."[111] Insofar as Victorian critics viewed Pope's didactic poetry as confused and unorthodox, they also implicitly accepted that such works should not be a standard for grounding Britain's national moral values.

The first chapter of DeQuincey's *Leaders in Literature with a Notice of Traditional Errors Affecting Them* (1862) outlines four "traditional errors affecting literature" in the preface: 1) the confusion between the "Literature of Power" and the "Literature of Knowledge"; 2) the "imbecility" of the romantics' "critical canon" of neoclassicism; 3) a mistaken conception of Pope's "correctness"; and 4) an insufficient critical language for didactic poetry. He addresses these difficulties in the first chapter, distinguishing a "Literature of Knowledge" (meant to teach, guide, and add to the "*mere* discursive understanding" of humankind) from to a "Literature of Power" that moves

[111] Leslie Stephen, *Alexander Pope* (London: Harper & Brothers, 1902), 172.

readers by speaking "to the higher understanding or reason, but always *through* the affections of pleasure and sympathy."[112] A Literature of Power transcends the world of empirical matter and transitory tastes, for it "cannot be caught by mimicries. . . cannot be reflected in the mirror of copies. . . [and] cannot become ponderable in the scales of vulgar comparison." DeQuincey's Literature of Power is "commensurate with the national language, sometimes long after the nation has departed" (*LL* 9). Shakespeare, Spenser, and Milton represent this "major key" of English genius. Dryden and Pope write in a "minor key" that mocks the idea of a Literature of Power. DeQuincey contends that Pope's style emerged as an antithesis to a Literature of Power. He deconstructs Pope's moral correctness, claiming that critics have overlooked his false instruction and satirical bathos.[113] According to a Literature of Power, didactic poems access truth realized in individuals' innate sentiments and exemplary adherence to custom. As opposed to a Literature of Knowledge, the "prosy thread of pure didactics" in a Literature of Power "presupposes the reader already *taught*." Poetry "can only teach as nature teaches, as the forests teach, as the sea teaches, viz. by deep impulse, by hieroglyphic suggestion. Their teaching is not direct or explicit, but lurking, implicit, masked in deep incarnations." A poetic moral "teaches itself only by diffusing its lesson through the entire poem in the total succession of events and purposes: and even this succession teaches only when the whole is gathered into a unity by a reflex act of meditation" (*LL* 46). Instead of reinforcing the ideas and values of readers, in Pope's "Literature of Knowledge":

> *everything* is polemic—you move only through dispute, you prosper only by argument and never-ending controversy. There is not positively one capital

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[112] Thomas DeQuincey, *Leaders in Literature, with a Notice of Traditional Errors Affecting Them* (Edinburgh, 1862), 5. Further references cited *LL*.

[113] DeQuincey likens a Literature of Knowledge to a cookbook that tries to compete with a sublime epic. Pope once wrote a cookbook for easy epic profundity in his anonymous essay in *Guardian no. 78* (10 June 1713), entitled "A Receipt to make an Epic Poem."

> proposition or doctrine about man, about his origin, his nature, his relations to God, or his prospects, but must be fought for with energy, watched at every turn with vigilance, and followed into endless mazes. . . . [*An Essay on Man*] is indeed the realization of anarchy. (*LL* 49–51)

DeQuincey recommends that his satires be purged from the palimpsest of the British literary tradition: "To evade the demands [of didactic poetry] in the way that Pope has done, is to offer us a ruin for a palace." DeQuincey claims British literature can only be preserved through censorship of Pope: "It is no longer advisable to reprint the whole of either Dryden or Pope. . . . Let such as are selected be printed in the fullest integrity of the text. But some have lost their interest; others, by the elevation of public morals since the days of those great wits, are felt to be now utterly unfit for general reading."[114] While DeQuincey does not explicitly mention the Double Mistress of Scriblerus's *Memoirs*, he implicitly includes this work within the archive of works to be dropped from the canon.

THE POPE CONTROVERSY GOES WEST: SCRIBLERIAN IMITATORS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA

The extent of the romantic-era "Scriblerus Controversy" should not be underestimated, given that it impacted nearly every major British romantic poet and critic. While there is little scholarship dealing with the reception of Scriblerian satire in nineteenth-century Britain, there is even less attention to the reception of the Pope controversy in America. This chapter will conclude with a brief summary of three famous American authors who seem to have been influenced by Pope's Scriblerian archive.[115]

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[114] *LL* 53. The enigmatic footnote asserts that Pope's *Dunciad* entirely resists analysis: "We do not include the DUNCIAD in this list [of censured works]. . . . We hold it to be the greatest of Pope's efforts. But for that reason we retire from examination of it, which we had designed, as being wholly disproportioned to the narrow limits remaining to us."

[115] Barbara Packer suggests: "the recipe by which [Emily] Dickinson constructs her lyric seems to have been confected by Martinus Scriblerus in *Peri Bathous*. . . . The ineptitude and crudity with which this exercise is carried out . . . ought to lead us to judge the poem as hilariously bad, one of those naïve productions that are the delight of the Alexander Popes and Mark Twains of the world. I have in fact met

The first of these authors, Edgar Allen Poe, has been identified as an imitator of both Pope and Scriblerus. Dame Una Pope-Hennessy explains that there "is no record, except that of internal evidence, of the date when Poe first discovered the *Art of Sinking in Poetry*, but it transformed his critical style. From being heavy-handed, pompous and awkward, he became light-fingered, agile and satirical."[116] Pope-Hennessy further claims, "His recipe for cooking up an article for *Blackwood's Magazine*, a recipe by the way obviously suggested by Pope's *Martinus Scriblerus*, is as follows: 'One should begin by proposing an impossible situation, then dress it with allusion and quotation and give it a little foreign seasoning.'" While Poe's early poetry is replete with imitations and praise of Pope, he demonstrates familiarity with contexts of the Pope controversy—from the criticism of Byron to the prose imitations of DeQuincey and the *Blackwood's* contributors. While many American authors imitated aspects of Scriblerian aesthetics in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, it is likely that Poe was the satirist behind one pseudonymous work by "Horatius B. Scriblerus."

In his 1941 *Edgar Allen Poe: A Critical Biography*, Arthur Hobson Quinn concludes his appendices with "A Possible New Poe Satire." Quinn cites an 1838 tale in *The American Museum of Science*, entitled "The Atlantis, a Southern World—or a wonderful Continent discovered, by Peter Prospero, L.L.D.; M.A., P.S." The author of

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readers who see Dickinson this way; but most of us here would defend Dickinson's violations of decorum in this poem and in hundreds like it as intentional"; Packer, "Poem 656: Dickinson and the Contract of Taste," *Women's Studies* 16 (1989): 91–94; 93–94.

[116] Una Pope-Hennessy claims, "It cannot be too clearly stated that the tales of horror he composed are not, as some writers have alleged, the result of drinking and drugging, but are the outcome in the beginning of deliberate artifice"; Pope-Hennessy, *Edgar Allen Poe, 1809–1849: A Critical Biography* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1934), 258, 129. See also *Southern Literary Messenger, Vol. 2* (Richmond, 1835), 364, 619. In his 1849 article in Amherst College's periodical, *The Indicator*, William Gilmore Simms compares Poe's *Eureka* to Scriblerus's *Art of Sinking in Poetry*: "Martinus Scriblerus . . . tells the world that 'Poetry is a morbid secretion from the brain.' Since Mr. Poe wishes to have his book considered a poem, we are bound in courtesy, to force it into that category if possible. Martinus's definition seems to afford us the only means of doing so, and we avail ourselves of it with thankfulness"; *The Indicator, vol. 1* (Amherst, MA: 1949), 199.

this essay on "RINOSOPHIA, OR NOSE-OLOGY.—A great discovery in the science of phrenology" employs the pseudonym of "Horatius B. Scriblerus . . . a practical Nose-ologist, and lineal descendant of the celebrated Martinus and Cornelius Scriblerus." The satire describes the Scriblerian precedents of *Tristram Shandy*, and it states that "Mr. Scriblerus will conclude these interesting lectures, by demonstrating that not only is the nose of man the great seat and organ of sensation and thought, and not the pineal gland, as Des Cartes dreamed, but that with this organ, also, we can taste, hear, and see."[117] Quinn compares this Scriblerian essay to Poe's short story, "Lionizing"—a satire in which "Noseology" plays a major role (*Q* 757–61). Quinn also references Poe's citation of *The Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* in "The Psyche Zenobia (or, How to Write a Blackwood's Article)."[118] The protagonist Psyche Zenobia—alternately the critic-author and protagonist of the two stories "The Signora Zenobia" and "The Scythe of Time" in Poe's *Tales of the Arabesque and Grotesque* (1840)—explains how to write "*bizarreries* . . . of the genuine Blackwood stamp" (*EP* 151). Her Scriblerian style guide cites the precedent of DeQuincey's "'*Confessions of an English Opium Eater*'—fine, very fine!—glorious imagination—deep philosophy—acute speculation—plenty of fire and fury, and a good spicing of the decidedly unintelligible" (*EP* 152). Psyche Zenobia also explains the Scriblerian Orientalism typical of the *Blackwood's* genre of sensationalist prose:

> The words must be all in a whirl, like a humming-top, and make a noise very similar, which answers remarkably well instead of meaning. This is the best possible style where the writer is in too great a hurry to think. . . . Put in something about the Supernal Oneness. Don't say a word about the Infernal Twoness. Above all, study innuendo. Hint everything—assert nothing. . . . evince your intimate acquaintance with the language and literature of the Chinese. With

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[117] Arthur Hobson Quinn, *Edgar Allen Poe: A Critical Biography* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1941), 757. Further references cited *Q*.

[118] Poe first released this story in Baltimore's *American Museum* in November 1838, but divided it into two separate episodes in "The Signora Zenobia" and "The Scythe of Time" in *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1965), 149–69. Further references cited *EP*.

> the aid of this you may possibly get along without either Arabic, or Sanscrit, or Chickasaw (*EP* 153–55).

In her attempt at a sensationalist *Blackwood's* article, Zenobia describes her ascent up the clock tower of a Gothic Cathedral in Edinburgh ("Edina") with her poodle, Diana, and "Pompey, my negro! . . . He was three feet in height (I like to be particular) and about seventy, or perhaps eighty, years of age." When these "three persons" reach the summit of the tower, Psyche Zenobia thrusts her head through a hole in the wall to observe the city from above, yet the clock's arm decapitates her and prompts a thought experiment on her double-self: "With my head I imagined, at one time, that I the head, was the real Signora Psyche Zenobia—at another I felt convinced that myself, the body, was the proper identity" (*EP* 168). This *Blackwood's* imitation exemplifies the eccentric thought-experiment on physical versus abstract identity in Scriblerus's Double Mistress episode.

If Poe's sensationalist satires betray his familiarity with the Scriblerian context of the Pope controversy, we might further question whether Pope's Double Mistress informs the background of a "Byron Scandal" that swept America in 1869. Harriet Beecher Stowe initiated this scandal in her article in the September issue of *Atlantic Monthly*. Stowe recalled Lady Byron's account of Byron's bastard-child with his half-sister, Augusta Leigh. In response, Stowe's enemies and Byron's advocates left the *Atlantic* en masse, and the periodical lost fifteen thousand subscribers in 1870. As Paul Baender explains, Twain wrote six articles supporting Stowe in the *Buffalo Express*. In his initial 24 August article, Twain mocks sentimentalists who insisted that Byron's genius depends on his morality. He asserts that the "beautiful and bestial are at a struggle with each other all through his writings, and the bestial so often mastered his pen that we cannot refuse to believe, on good evidence, that it may have mastered the man even to the extent of this

abhorrent crime."[119] Twain disagrees that "a brilliant poet" must necessarily be an upright moralist. Baender explains the ambivalence of his argument, suggesting that "Twain did not dislike Byron . . . he simply abhorred the attempts of [his] admirers to ignore or disguise the poet's erotic errors through 'romantic historical fable' and 'sentimental justification.'"[120]

Twain satirizes the Byron Scandal in an 18 September 1869 essay, entitled, "The 'Wild Man' Interview." In this essay, he portrays a Sasquatch named "SENSATION!" who claims that he has entered human society "TO DIG UP THE BYRON FAMILY." Although Twain's July 1870 article in *The Galaxy* denies the possibility of burlesquing a controversy based on so serious a charge as incest, he suppressed satires susceptible to the charge of moral ambiguity. In his unpublished manuscript "'letter from Lord Byron to Mark Twain," Byron assures Twain of his unimaginable depravity.[121] Despite his suspicion toward Byron's personal morality, Twain also admired his verse. As Howard Baetzhold explains, in 1892 he even "included a volume of Byron's poetry among his Christmas gifts to his daughter Susy."[122] Although Twain neither risked a public defense of Byron's character nor ventured a foundational critique of the scandal—an effort that would have compromised his defense of Harriet Beecher Stowe—he waged a lateral campaign to mock the aggression and piety of Byron's sentimental advocates. Twain not only seems to rehash repressed Scriblerian contexts of the Pope controversy, but he

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[119] John Baender, "Mark Twain and the Byron Scandal," *American Literature* 30.4 (1959): 467–85; 469.

[120] Baender, "Mark Twain and the Byron Scandal," 478.

[121] Byron tells Twain, "I am the Wickedest Man in—in this region. . . . Let me whisper in your ear: I had nine children by the late Augusta Leigh. I devoured them, I destroyed my maternal grandmother with a pitchfork. I threw my paternal grandfather out of the fifth story window, just to see what he would say. He never said anything. . . . I committed all the crimes known to law. I robbed, and burned and betrayed and assassinated"; Baender, "Mark Twain and the Byron Scandal," 482.

[122] Howard G. Baetzhold, *Mark Twain and John Bull: The British Connection* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1970), 283.

appears to deploy an erudite mode of burlesque that Pope and his champions used to target prejudicial ideologies masquerading as naturalistic hierarchies of aesthetic form.

Along with his six articles in *Buffalo Express* in August and September 1869, Twain released an August 1869 farce in *Packard's Monthly*, entitled "Personal Habits of the Siamese Twins."[123] Against the backdrop of the recent Civil War, Twain developed a thought experiment on the popular phenomenon of two Siamese twins named Chang and Eng Bunker. Twain's twins share an intimate bond of identity despite differences in their religion, morality, and wives: "By-and-bye Eng fell in love with his sister-in-law's sister, and married her, and since that day they have all lived together, night and day, in an exceeding sociability which is touching and beautiful to behold, and is a scathing rebuke to our boasted civilization."[124] The twins theme of this 1869 essay later became a part of Twain's repertory in a 1885–86 "Twins of Genius" tour with George Washington Cable, in his introductory speeches for Bill Nye and James Whitcomb Riley's 1888 lecture tour, and in the 1906–07 New Year's Eve performance (a drunken lecture on temperance) that *The New York Times* hailed as the miracle of "Siamese Twain" lately arrived from New Jersey.[125] Despite Twain's humorous revelry in this theme of twins, he also struggled to coalesce the tonal implications of burlesque and tragedy in his "Siamese" social satire.

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[123] In *Dark Twins: Imposture and Identity in Mark Twain's America*, Susan Gillman reconstructs the esoteric sources for the doubles that Twain affiliated with a reservoir of the individual and collective unconscious, and a specter of difference indistinguishable from established codes of private authorship and public authority. *Dark Twins: Imposture and Identity in Mark Twain's America* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1989).

[124] Mark Twain, *Collected Tales, Sketches, Speeches, and Essays, vol. 3* (New York: Library of America, 1992), 298.

[125] "Mark Twain and Twin Cheer New Year's Party: Humorist in a Siamese Twin Act at His House," *The New York Times* (Tuesday, 1 January 1907).

Twain's doubled protagonist emerges most famously in his two-part novel, *The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson and the Comedy of Those Extraordinary Twins* (1894).[126] *Pudd'nhead Wilson* is a tragic satire that portrays two infants swapped at birth. One gains freedom and matures into criminality. The other, who is condemned to slavery, fails to enjoy freedom after the detective, Pudd'nhead Wilson, reveals their hidden double-identities with his mysterious new arcana of palmistry (fingerprinting). Twain's original farce, *Those Extraordinary Twins*, features a burlesque on the arrival of two Italian conjoined twins (Giovanni and Giocomo Tocci) in the small Mississipi River town of Dawson's Landing. Twain's characters, Luigi and Angelo, disagree in their personal tastes and morals, but they also deviate from one another in a manner paradigmatic of the collective, political, ideological, and religious clashes definitive of America's national identity. Like Pope's "Double Mistress" episode, *Those Extraordinary Twins* satirizes the dissolution of legal courts, political offices, and houses of worship. Twain explains that, while writing *Those Extraordinary Twins*, three new characters (Pudd'nhead and two twins swapped at birth) came forward to produce a weave of "two stories" in one. Twain situates his "literary Caesarean operation" of revising and editing this manuscript in a Transatlantic context of voyages between England and America. Over three voyages, he parsed the two narratives into a farce on conjoined twins and a tragedy on swapped infants.[127] In the remaining novel, *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, a pedant applies his esoteric

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[126] Mark Twain, *The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson and the Comedy of Those Extraordinary Twins*, ed. Shelley Fisher Fishkin, Sherley Anne Williams, & David Lionel Smith (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1996). Further references cited *MT*.

[127] Twain writes, "I had a sufficiently hard time with that tale, because it changed itself from a farce to a tragedy while I was going along with it. . . . it was not one story, but two stories tangled together; and they obstructed and interrupted each other at every turn and created no end of confusion and annoyance. I could not offer the book for publication, for I was afraid it would unseat the reader's reason. . . . I had not noticed, as yet, that it was two stories in one. It took me months to make that discovery. I carried the manuscript back and forth across the Atlantic two or three times, and read it and studied over it on shipboard; and at last I saw where the difficulty lay. I had no further trouble. I pulled one of the stories out by the roots, and

forensics of identity to expose the secret history of two twins[128] whose twofold identities challenge normative discourses of racial and cultural difference. While his novel's social commentary and tragic satire differ from the philosophical burlesque of his original tale, Twain published the two works in a single text in Hartford, CT in 1894. His commentary on the Transatlantic revision and editing of this two-part tragic-comic farce warrants attention, furthermore, since the long-awaited Victorian edition of Scriblerus's *Memoirs* had recently appeared (without the text or even a mention of the Double Mistress) in the ninth volume of the authoritative Croker–Elwin–Courthope edition of Pope (1886).

According to Baetzhold, Twain ambivalently noted the extreme artifice and acerbic wit of Pope's satire. Twain did not approve of Pope's elevated neoclassicism, and he listed the *Iliad* translation "among the several [eighteenth-century] volumes he would have burned if their authors had submitted the manuscripts to him for possible publication." Meanwhile, he also took pleasure in Pope's satire. Baetzhold explains that Twain "proposed in a notebook entry of February, 1894, to have Pudd'nhead Wilson declare that 'Whatever is is wrong.' In an interview in Australia (September 17, 1895) he referred to Pope as 'one of the wittiest writers who ever put pen to paper.'" Beatzhold also cites Twain's adaptation of *Essay on Man*: "Lo! the poor Indian, whose untutored mind,/ Impels him, in order to raise the wind,/ To double the pot and go it blind,/ Until

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left the other one—a kind of literary Caesarean operation" (*MT* 310). See also Robert A. Wiggins, "Pudd'nhead Wilson: 'A Literary Caesarean Operation,'" *College English* 25.3 (1963): 182–86.

[128] Twain's source for the title of *Pudd'nhead Wilson* may have derived from *Tristram Shandy*, where Uncle Toby is referred to as a "a confused, pudding-headed, muddle-headed fellow"; Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman, vol. 1* (London, 1888), 61. Sterne, furthermore, used the term to depict his satire Warburton as Cornelius Scriblerus/Walter Shandy: "is there no one learned blockhead throughout the many schools of misapplied science in the Christian World, to make a *tutor* of for my Tristram? . . . Are we so run out of stock, that there is no one lumber-headed, muddle-headed, mortar-headed, pudding-headed *chap* amongst our doctors?—Is there no one single wight of much reading and no learning . . . but I must disable my judgment by choosing a W[arburto]n?"; Lewis Perry Curtis, ed., *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, 93.

he's busted, you know."[129] While I do not intend to argue that Twain championed Pope in the manner of Byron, I contend that he imitated the controversial Scriblerian mode that Victorian critics were anxious to suppress. Insofar as few contemporary critics have acknowledged the controversial afterlives of Pope's Scriblerian satire in nineteenth-century British literature, even fewer have shown American satirists such as Poe and Twain looking eastward and backward to eighteenth-century British precedents. I have briefly shown that a trajectory of Scriblerian controversy might enable such a reading.

Let me briefly conclude by recapping my argument from the perspective of the editor of the initial 1857 issues of *Atlantic Monthly*: James Russell Lowell. Lowell later resisted the publication of Stowe's article on Lady Byron in the *Atlantic*. He summarized the Pope Controversy in *North American Review* and also composed commentaries on Scriblerian satire and the Siamese twins, Chang and Eng. According to his January 1871 article in Boston's *North American Review*, Warton's 1756 *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* was "the earliest public and official declaration of war against the reigning mode, though private hostilities and reprisals had been going on for some time."[130] Pope's contemporaries initiated the backlash against his aesthetics—Ambrose Philips channeled Milton's Protestant sublimity, while Joseph Addison praised "old

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[129] Howard G. Baetzhold, *Mark Twain and John Bull*, 274–75. While he never expressed any explicit debt to Scriblerian satire, Twain borrowed from eighteenth-century literature in his novels (Defoe's castaway narratives, Goldsmith's Orientalist epistolary narratives, and Swift's burlesques), just as he cited Byron's satires and Moore's *Lalla Rookh*.

[130] J.R. Lowell, "Pope" in *The North American Review, vol. 112* (Boston, 1871), 179. He summarizes: "It is plain that in any strict definition there can be only one kind of poetry, and that what Warton really meant to say was that Pope was not a poet at all. This, I think, is shown by what Johnson says in his 'Life of Pope,' though he does not name Warton. The dispute on this point went on with occasional lulls for more than a half century after Warton's death. It was renewed with peculiar acrimony when the Rev. W.L. Bowles diffused and confused Warton's critical opinions in his own peculiarly helpless way in editing a new edition of Pope in 1806. . . . the affair became what they call on the frontier a free fight, in which Gilchrist, Roscoe, the elder Disraeli, and Byron took part with equal relish, through with various fortune. The last shot, in what had grown into a thirty years' war, between the partisans of what was called the Old School of poetry and those of the New, was fired by Bowles in 1826" (215).

ballads" to condemn "by innuendo the artificial elaboration of the drawing room pastoral by contrasting it with the simple sincerity of nature" (179). In contrast to this native Protestant simplicity, Pope's "range of associations was of that narrow kind which is always vulgar" (217).[131] This vulgarity parallels Pope's refinement; his imitations of nature were comparable to a "mirror in a drawing-room," reflecting "a faithful image of a society, powdered and rouged, to be sure, and intent on trifles. . . . [on a] cant of sensuality and a wilderness of periwig" (184). Lowell claims that Pope came to power at a moment of cultural confusion: "John Bull was pretty well persuaded, in a bewildered kind of way, that he had been vulgar, and especially that his efforts in literature showed marks of native vigor . . . but of a vigor clownish and uncouth. He began to be ashamed of the provincialism which had given strength . . . to his character" (186). Lowell depicts the early eighteenth century as an "age of sham," when it was equally acceptable to believe "in Christ or Mahomet. . . . It was a carnival of intellect without faith, when men could be Protestant or Catholic, both at once, or by turns, or neither, as suited their interest" (190). In contrast to Pope's vulgar and foreign artifice, Lowell praises the continuous strain of sublime rationality that unifies Shakespeare and Milton, Addison and Warton, the Wordworthian romantics and the American transcendentalists. His literary historiography epitomizes a pervasive denial that ideological campaigns against Pope's form originated in assaults on his personal deformity and cultural marginality. Unlike

[131] Lowell claims, "Pope distilled a fragrant oil with which to fill the brilliant lamps of his philosophy—lamps like those in the tombs of alchemists, that go out the moment healthy air is let in upon them. The only positive doctrines in [his *Essay on Man*] are the selfishness of Hobbes set to music, and the pantheism of Spinoza brought down from mysticism to commonplace. Nothing can be more absurd than many of the dogmas taught in this 'Essay on Man'. . . . we are no better off than the untutored Indian, after the poet has tutored us" (202–3, 206). Lowell adopts Crousaz and Johnson's critique of Pope's heterodox animal philosophy: "Could there be an intellectual appetite which antithesis failed to satisfy? If the horse would only have faith enough in his green spectacles, surely the straw would acquire, not only the flavor, but the nutritious properties of green grass. The horse was foolish enough to starve, but the public is wiser" (181–82).

eighteenth-century Pope-bashers, who unabashedly lampooned his personal figure as an emblem of his cultural and religious marginality, Lowell overlooked this background of embodied and material history. Instead, he offers a stigmatizing critique under pretenses of supporting an aesthetic hierarchy intrinsic to a rationalist Protestant concept of Nature.

Lowell's review complies with his Victorian counterparts' avoidance of Pope's Double Mistress.[132] It is impossible that he was unaware of this text, given his scholarship on the Pope controversy, his acquaintance with both Twain and Poe, his criticism of Scriblerus's *Memoirs* in an essay on witchcraft,[133] and his abolitionist fable based on the twins Chang and Eng.[134] If Lowell knew of the Double Mistress, why did he abstain from addressing it in his criticism of Pope? First, and most importantly, he would not have wished to revive a controversy that had already been quelled by the removal of

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[132] Lowell lamented the oppressive Puritanism that promoted outpourings of a repressed anti-Puritan artifice in such holidays such as the Commencement carnival of "Saint Pedagogus" in his hometown of Cambridge, Massachusetts: "hither were come all the wonders of the world, making the Arabian Nights seem possible, and these we beheld for half price. . . . Here the mummy unveiled her withered charms. . . . Here were the Siamese twins; ah! If all such forced and unnatural unions were made a show of!"; *The Writings of James Russell Lowell, Vol. 1* (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1890), 79.

[133] Insofar as Lowell employs the thought experiment of conjoined twins to justify the upright cause of abolition and the subsequent dangers of a violent separation, he viewed Pope's *Memoirs* as a retrogressive work of literature. In his essay on witchcraft, for example, Lowell comments on the faithless resistance to the purging of superstition from religion: "Wise men . . . insisted on regarding superstition as of one substance with faith, and objected to any scouring of the shield of religion, lest, like that of Cornelius Scriblerus, it should suddenly turn out to be nothing more than 'a paltry old sconce with the nozzle broke off.' The Devil continued to be the recognized Minister Resident of God upon earth"; Lowell, *Among my Books* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1884), 140.

[134] Lowell equated moral evil with a deformity that required purging for the health of the social body. His anti-slavery papers illustrate this principle of righteous intolerance through a "fable . . . founded on the Siamese Twins": "Once upon a time Chang took to bad courses. He frequented bar-rooms and even more disreputable places, and at last became an inveterate sot. Now wherever Chang went, of course Eng was seen also, and his character began to suffer accordingly. Nor was this all. Whatever diseases Chang contracted, Eng suffered his share of, not to mention that, though a cold-water man himself, his liver was being burnt up by the brandy which ran down his brother's throat. Eng consulted his spiritual adviser, and wished him to reason with Chang and represent to him the wickedness of his conduct. . . . One day Eng was sitting on the edge of a gutter into which his brother had tumbled, when a medical man, thought rather *ultra* by the faculty, came up. Eng looked at him despairingly. 'Give him his choice, as soon as he is sober, to begin a reform to-morrow morning, or to submit to the knife at once. In a few months the operation will be necessary to save your life'"; *The anti-slavery papers of James Russell Lowell, vol. 1* (Boston: Houghton and Mifflin, 1902), 156–57.

the Double Mistress and the authoritative establishment of Pope's status in a secondary tier of the British canon. Second, Lowell may have realized the perils of engaging Pope's bowdlerized archive—not only does he neglect any mention of Warton's controversial 1797 edition of Pope, but he also disparages Bowles's criticism as "aesthetically right" but "argumentatively wrong. . . . he laid himself open to dreadful punishment from Byron, whose two letters are masterpieces of polemic prose."[135] Third, there was no need to return to the Double Mistress, for Warton and Bowles had already used it to demolish Pope's reputation. Fourth, Lowell ascribed to an elevated form of social idealism at odds with Pope's mode of Scriblerian burlesque. In his career as a Unitarian social reformer and abolitionist, Lowell took a strident stance against institutionalized slavery—an intentional and systematic moral deformity capable being rationally reformed through legal means. On the contrary, Pope's Scriblerian archive gravitated toward a satirical and sympathetic aesthetic of deformity that spoke to the accidents of his own religious, social, and physical marginality. Fifth, the zany, experimental, and obscure literary forms of Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism did not appeal to the canonical tastes of either Lowell or the major Victorian critics in Britain. Once the contingencies and campaigns of recent literary history had effectively resulted in the second censorship of the Double Mistress—a text many critics believed should never have been published at all—there were no dignified or reputable scholars clamoring for a recuperation of Pope's Scriblerian genre.

My dissertation has attempted to reconstruct this suppressed mode of Scriblerian satire, to analyze its complex aesthetic forms, and to trace the little-known history of its reception. Having attempted to provide conceptual clarification and literary-historical support for the discourse of Scriblerian Orientalism, my study confronts two limits. The

[135] Lowell, "Pope," 215.

first limit pertains to a quarry of potential Scriblerian imitators too large to address in the narrow limits of my study, and the second pertains to the silence of nineteenth-century critics regarding Scriblerian Orientalism. During the era of national canon-formation at home and the third phase of Empire in the East—the age of Rudyard Kipling's *Jungle Book* and Richard Burton's translations and travel narratives—there was not a thriving public discourse in Britain regarding Pope's modes of Orientalist satire.[136] While further accounts of Pope's Scriblerian imitators will require further study elsewhere, we might reframe the obscurity that overwhelmed Pope's Scriblerian satire in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. My conclusion will unveil the past Empire of Dulness that descended upon Britain and America during the twentieth century, when both the Pope controversy and the Scriblerian archive returned to public prominence. In turning to this penumbra of Pope's influence in twentieth-century literature and criticism, let us ascend the *Dunciad*'s Pisgah Mount to view the "Old in new state, another yet the same" (iii.32).

[136] In 1872, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Review* reviewed Sir Richard Burton's *Zanzibar: City, Island, and Coast* according to the techniques of amplified, vulgar detail proposed by the "learned Martinus Scriblerus, in his rules for the attainment of the bathos"; *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, vol. cxi* (New York, 1782), 692. On similarities between *Jungle Book* and *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, see Ben Zaken, *Reading Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, 2.

Conclusion: Scriblerian Satire in Twentieth Century Literature and Criticism

In chapter one, I offered a new way of reading Scriblerian satire, delineating a hitherto unnoticed form of Orientalist imitation that inflects and informs Pope's major satirical and philosophical poetry. As opposed to the predominant separation of Pope's neoclassical and Scriblerian archives in contemporary critical discourses, my approach has suggested the potential for reading Pope's interweaving of these modes. His mode of Scriblerian Orientalism did not merely invert the hierarchies of form in his major poetry, but it patterned an aesthetic of deformity that clarifies problem areas and complicates seemingly conventional representations in his didactic poetry. If the satire in the *Dunciad* expresses anxiety toward the rise of modern dunces, it also incorporates them in a performance that upholds the ethical philosophy of *Essay on Man*. Pope's Orientalism is most prominent in the Double Mistress episode of Scriblerus's *Memoirs*. This "*Novel*" parodies philosophical concepts of identity, multiplies the self through a paradoxical dualism, and proposes an ironic affinity between the perspectives of anti-self and other. Although scholars rarely consider the controversies that Scriblerian satire generated in the literary-critical canon from which it was excluded, there is considerable evidence of its anxious persistence in the eighteenth century (when it was censored from Pope's works), its resurgence in the nineteenth century (when it was censored for a second time), and its return as a scholarly discourse in the twentieth century (when it was framed as the self-standing yet incomplete club project of several famous satirists). My conclusion traces the little-known twentieth-century reappearance of Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism. Let us now ascend the *Dunciad*'s Pisgah Mount to view Dulness's realms: "Then stretch thy sight o'er all her rising reign,/ And let the past and future fire thy brain" (iii.57–58).

The following paragraphs review several intersecting twentieth-century revivals of Pope and his Scriblerian aesthetics. Since this conclusion gathers together a wide range of works by critics and authors who responded to one another's ideas, I will attempt to chart out this twentieth-century archive through points of contact and contestation. First, I analyze George Orwell's 1930 review of two opposed studies of Pope that highlight a problematic overlap between the "jungle" and "formal garden" of his poetry and legacy. I use Orwell's review as an introduction to Edith Sitwell—a poet, novelist, and public personality, who prompted a minor Pope revival. Although scholarly Scriblerian critics in America would reject Sitwell's polemical biography, *Alexander Pope* (1930), she exerted an impact on Scriblerianism in another manner. As I explain below, her rivalry with Wyndham Lewis generated an archive of texts influential upon two prominent Canadian-born literary critics and media theorists of Scriblerian satire: Marshall McLuhan and Hugh Kenner. In its broader scope, the conclusion employs Sitwell's Pope to trace a network of texts and images: from Orwell's dialectic of garden and jungle to a minor controversy that revolves around a trope of "Africa within." The list of relevant works will include Sitwell's *Alexander Pope* (1930), *Gold Coast Customs* (1929) and *I Live Under a Black Sun* (1937); Lewis's *Apes of God* (1930) and *Satire and Fiction* (1932); McLuhan's *Gutenberg Galaxy* (1962) and *Understanding Media* (1964); and Kenner's *The Counterfeiters: An Historical Comedy* (1968). Insofar as this brief vision proceeds from Sitwell's Camp reading of Pope to Kenner's "Pop" reading of Scriblerian aesthetics, it concludes by bringing fiction to bear on authoritative Pope scholarship. I discuss how Vladimir Nabokov engaged with scholarly edition of the *Memoirs* done his former colleague and acquaintance, Charles Kerby–Miller. In particular, I introduce his short story, "Scenes from the Life of a Double Monster," and his novel, *Pale Fire* (1962). Nabokov's *Pale Fire* features a traditional Pope scholar and poetic imitator, as well as an

eccentric editor from a fantastic "Popian Zembla." This work serves as the masterpiece to conclude my summary of twentieth-century Scriblerianism, for it incorporates Popian neoclassicism and Scriblerian Orientalism within an interwoven pattern and a contrapuntal mode of "reading between the lines to note what is revealingly absent."[1] The Double Mistress had returned to the *Memoirs*, yet "Popian Zembla" had disappeared.

EDITH SITWELL AND THE TWENTIETH-CENTURY POPE REVIVAL

We now return to 1930, when Edith Sitwell spearheaded a minor Scriblerian revival in her biography, *Alexander Pope*. In his summer 1930 review of this biography in *New Adelphi*, Eric Arthur Blair (the individual behind the pseudonym "George Orwell") cited Sitwell to emphasize a curious tension in Pope scholarship. He offers a dialectical reading of Sitwell's biography and Sherard Vines's *Course of English Classicism* (1930). Orwell identifies Vines's classical and Sitwell's romantic readings as representative of two modes: "It is possible, and perhaps necessary to divide all art into classical and romantic; to see as two separate things the trim formal garden of classicism and the wild jungle, full of stupendous beauty, and also morasses and sickly weeds."[2] In his comparison of Vines's and Sitwell's studies, Orwell reveals a problem with this binary of romantic and classical, for "the two encroach and claim neutral ground, so that sometimes it is hard to say which is jungle and which is garden."[3] Orwell claims that

[1] Varisco, *Reading Orientalism*, 203

[2] Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus, eds., *George Orwell: An Age like this (1920–1940); Volume One: Essays, Journalism, and Letters* (Jaffrey, NH: David R. Godine, 2000), 22. For an account of Blair's adoption of his pseudonym, see George Woodcock, "Review: Orwell, Blair, and the Critics," *The Sewanee Review* 83.3 (1975), 524–536.

[3] In his essay, "Swift as Intellectual," Edward Said suggests Orwell's blindness to "ideological consciousness, that aspect of an individual's thought which is ultimately linked to sociopolitical and economic realities"; *The World, the text, and the critic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1983), 52–77. Orwell's friend, Malcolm Muggeridge, instead reviews the "'anti-imperialism'" of his self-conscious reflections in his novel, *Burmese Days* (1934): a "study of the human factor in the British Raj" and a satire

Vines's *Course of English Classicism* "has performed a difficult feat in treating such a large and crowded subject adequately in a small space," yet "even in the formal garden, the jungle encroaches." According to Vines, British classicism aspires to a static paradigm of truth, ornamenting a "controlled nature" through "selective generalization." He praises the idealized model of Addison and Pope as "the pediment of the façade that had been building laboriously, with mistakes, rebuildings, and alterations, since the day of great, injured Erasmus."[4] Vines then proceeds to the dynamic and degraded variants of neoclassical aesthetics, including baroque, kinetic, Rococco, and pastiche: "a formidable disturber of classic sobriety" (141). He also condemns the Gothic and Orientalist styles of Byron, who, "however much he may admire Pope, fails in practice to approach Pope's high level of significance. Such classicism he pretends to is imprecise and impure." If Orwell suggests that a jungle of Gothicism and Orientalism encroaches on Vines's formal garden, he praises "Miss Sitwell's life of Pope" for its support of Pope's experimental forms and self-conscious deformity. Sitwell's *Alexander Pope* is "distinguished by her warm-hearted defence of the poet against all his detractors. Her English is queer and, one must add, precious, but there is a charm in her love of sonorous words for their own sake."[5] As Orwell notes subjective and "queer" aspects of Sitwell's biography, he also alludes to her apparent revival of a nineteenth-century Pope controversy.

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based on his experience as a policeman in Burma from 1920–27. Muggeridge predicts, "One day an attempt will doubtless be made, coolly and objectively, to analyze the effect on the English of their association with India"; Jeffrey Meyers, ed., *George Orwell: The Critical Heritage* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), 54–56.

[4] Sherard Vines, *The Course in English Classicism: From the Tudor to the Victorian Age* (London: Hogarth Press, 1930), 35, 52, 83, 73–4.

[5] Orwell, *An Age like this*, 24. In a 15 September 1937 letter to Geoffrey Gorer, Orwell wrote, "I should like to meet Edith Sitwell very much, some time when I am in town. It surprised me very much to learn that she heard of me and liked my books. I don't know what I ever cared for her poems, but I liked very much her life of Pope"; *A Life in Letters*, ed. Peter Davison (London: Harvill Secker, 2010), 89. The eco-poet Jack Collom also supports Sitwell's Pope—a countercultural figure and an "exile at home," whose "role, in poems, was that of a detached observer ('Sir Real')" who exposes "life under the system." A "satirist fiercer than Dada," Pope called into question "whatever dominated his worldly awareness," following a

Sitwell's biography begins with a retrospective narrative of the decline of British poetry in the wake of a romantic controversy over Pope. She contextualizes her analysis in relation to his demotion in the Victorian canon, attributing the "cold, damp mossiness that has blighted the public taste" among poets and critics who now view "the small, unhappy, tortured creature" as "a man who was deformed in spirit and body" and not as "one of the greatest of our poets, one of the most lovable of men" (*S* 1–2). Sitwell introduces her book as a continuation of Byron's championship in the Pope controversy, but also as a poetic challenge to "our most eminent bores" in canonical criticism.[6] Sitwell mocks the romantic critics for their anxiety toward Pope's influence: "The state of poetry has not become better, but worse, since the time that Byron wrote his defense of Pope in the preface to 'Don Juan'. . . . It is a terribly informing task to read any anthology published during the last fifty years; to read, let us say, 'The Oxford Book of English Poetry.'" Sitwell portrays Pope as an outsider, both in his own era and in his posthumous reception. In his prose, Pope reflected on the "beastly cruelty" of Britain's customs. In his poetry, he paired the rigid structure of stopped heroic couplets with an expressive pastoral texture crafted from his experience of physical and social alienation.[7] Sitwell subjectively

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"multiplicity of prepositional directions" away from conventional social norms and aesthetic forms. Colloquiem with Waldman, Augustine, Jane; Brakhage, Stan; Collom, Jack; Ginsberg, Allen; Hollo, Anselm (July 9, 1988).

[6] Sitwell also contrasts Virginia Woolf unflattering portrait of Pope in Orlando and T.S. Eliot's lurid Scriblerian styles in *The Waste Land* (and its unpublished "Fresca" cantos). Sitwell's reading contrasts with the interpretations of T.S. Eliot and Virginia Woolf. On Eliot's unpublished "Fresca" cantos in The Waste Land, see C.C. Barfoot and Theo D'Haen, eds. *Centennial Hauntings: Pope, Byron, and Eliot in the year 88* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1990). Joseph G. Kronick describes Eliot's poem as a self-conscious pastiche of the apocalyptic vision of the four-book Dunciad. Kronick, *Swiftly Sterneward: Essays on Laurence Sterne and his Times in Honor of Melvyn New*, Eds. W.B. Gerard, E. Derek Taylor, and Robert G. Walker (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), 12. See Woolf's portrait in *Orlando*: "we all know as if we heard him how Mr. Pope's tongue flickered like a lizard's, how his eyes flashed, how his hand trembled, how he loved, how he lied, how he suffered"; Woolf, *Orlando* (New York: Harcourt Inc., 1956), 196, 209.

[7] Geoffrey Elborn, *Edith Sitwell: A Biography* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1981), 85.

identified with Pope, for she too suffered curvature of the spine and found misfortune in love. Furthermore, she advocated ethics toward animals and was an avowed Catholic.[8]

In *Alexander Pope*, Sitwell hints at Pope's experimental neoclassicism as well as his methods of Scriblerian Orientalism. In her appendices, she selectively reprints the entirety of the pseudonymous *Guardian* no. 61 essay, in which Pope uses the animal philosophy of Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* and Bidpai's fables to counter Britain's barbarous customs. Sitwell also challenges mischaracterizations of Pope in canonical scholarship: "He was a savage, we are told. Yet, at a time when cruelty to animals, of the most unspeakably horrid kind, was exhibited daily, and was held to be no disgrace, this savage wrote an essay [in the *Guardian*], reproaching such cruelty in the most moving terms. It needed no small amount of moral courage to do this" (*S* 14). Sitwell identifies Pope's outsider affect in the visionary Orientalist experiment cited in Spence's anecdotes:

> In the intervals of discussing the possibilities of Muscovy becoming a flourishing empire, it is probable that the three friends (Pope, Swift, and Gay) talked about politics and books, and about their plans for a future work. It may have been at this time, awed by the rather gloomy pastoral atmosphere in this savage retreat, that Pope planned the writing of some American pastorals. He must certainly have discussed these with Swift, and we know that he spoke of them, at once some other time, to Gay; and he told Spence: 'It might be a very pretty subject for any good genius that way, to write American pastorals; or rather pastorals adapted to the manners of *several of the ruder nations, as well as the Americans*. . . . In short, the gloom, at once imprisoning and pastoral, of this clerical retreat might, indeed, suggest Pastorals of any kind, if that kind was sufficiently uncivil.[9]

Instead of situating early Scriblerian gatherings at Windsor or St. James Palace, Sitwell depicts the club's gatherings at Letcombe after Queen Anne's death and prior to Swift's

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[8] Evelyn Waugh sponsored Sitwell's conversion to Catholicism on 2 October 1955.

[9] Sitwell, *Alexander Pope*, 122. In 1934, William Empson discussed how Scriblerian pastorals insinuate "queer connections" that "fit in with the ideas the audience already ha[d] at the back of its mind." He explains that Pope's pastorals are "belittling" and "destructive of the heroic attitude," and he claims that the "life of [Pope's] impersonal dignified form was in the play of irony and judgment that could shelter behind it"; *Some Versions of Pastoral*, 57, 206–8.

departure for Ireland: "they walked among the fields, where the dust was so dry that it might have been the dust of all the dead philosophers of the world" (*S* 123–24).[10] As Swift turned the satire to the "Tartarean gloom" of savage indignation, Pope instead invented a visionary and satirical mode of neoclassical Orientalism: "After this visit, Pope returned to Binfield and to Homer. He was in the habit of beginning the translation as the early light clustered light pale flowers round the shutters of his country window, and the first rustic sounds buzzed like bees, through the great trees that floated on the faunal breeze as if they were magical islands" (124). As Sitwell portrays Scriblerian satire as a form of intricate pastoral irony, she refashions Pope's epic as an Oriental tale.

Geoffrey Elborn and Richard Greene depict Sitwell's biography as the cause of a minor twentieth-century Pope revival in Britain.[11] Most importantly, *Alexander Pope* inspired Norman Ault's recovery of Pope's miscellaneous poetry and prose.[12] Ault's

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[10] Sitwell offers a broad claim that Scriblerus's *Memoirs* "may also have been responsible for the idea of 'The Grub Street Journal' (but of this there is no certainty). And we owe at least the foundation of those great works, 'Gulliver's Travels' and 'The Dunciad,' to the Club." She either misidentifies Scriblerus's Memoirs as the Origine of Sciences or implies the potential unification of these separate works: "The great memorial of the Scriblerus Club is that strange work called 'The Life and Writings of Martinus Scriblerus,' for which Swift, Pope, and Arbuthnot were responsible. The work included a strange description of a universe ruled over by 'satyrs' (wise and educated apes) with the world history of these . . . and other, more obscure papers"; *Alexander Pope*, 112.

[11] See Greene, *Edith Sitwell: Avant-garde Poet, English Genius* (London: Virago, 2011), 204; Elborn, *Edith Sitwell: A Biography*, 85.

[12] Ault wrote a handwritten dedicatory poem in Sitwell's copy of *Prose Works*:

> The first, you were, to show the way—
> Your Pope was Pope and yet humane;
> You smashed old lies with careless care;
> The heat and burden of that day,
> You bore alone, and it was plain,
> The first you were.
> Now Pope has champions everywhere,
> All laurel-crown'd, too, great and small.
> So many crowns, but of them all
> The first you wear.

See Harry Ransom Center, Austin, TX; Norman Ault, *Prose Works of Alexander Pope, vol. 1: The earlier works, 1711–1720* (London: Shakespeare Head Press, 1936). His 25 August 1944 poem to Sitwell demonstrates his interest in Pope's Scriblerian archive. Ault states in his Prose Works: "The extent of Pope's literary activities was far wider than is represented either by his own authorized Works, or any

Prose Works of Alexander Pope (1936), *New Light on Alexander Pope* (1949), and Twickenham edition of his *Minor Works* (completed by John Butt after Ault's death in 1950) constitute a major contribution to contemporary Pope scholarship.[13] Writing to Ault on 8 August 1944, Sitwell encouraged his project. She wrote, "The discoveries are *enthralling*. . . . you have done more for Pope as a *person* than has anyone at all. . . . you write as if he had been your friend, and you had loved him."[14] Sitwell notes his discovery:

> Pope was the greatest of tight-rope walkers. How he could remain balanced, throughout his life, in mid-air, on a lie or a 'genteel provocation', without falling to earth, remains a miracle to the ordinary truthful person. And he didn't confine himself to one tight-rope. Even to watch that continual crossing from one rope to another makes one giddy. But the tight-rope walking is as nothing to his building of labyrinths round himself, his subject, and his motives. (258)

While Sitwell cites both to the mastery of Pope's tightrope-act and the obscurity of his labyrinths, she urges Ault to further study a "mystery of anonymity" in his miscellaneous works. Ault had explained Pope's anonymity as a private revolt against the classical seriousness of his Homeric translation. He classified a "bent toward antiquarianism" in the genre of "*Martinus Scriblerus*" as what Swift "fondly called 'Mr. Pope's roguery.'"[15]

A prominent eighteenth-century scholar at the University of London, Geoffrey Tillotson, challenged Ault's description of Pope's "roguery." Tillotson argued for a more serious reading, suggesting that Pope's "ideal for a comic poem always has wit as an

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subsequent collected edition of them. Throughout his life he indulged a fancy for irresponsible publication, and withheld his name—not always guilelessly—from many of his pieces"; *Prose Works*, v.

[13] Sitwell reviewed Ault's book of unpublished poems, *New Light on Pope* (1949), in the Sunday Times (Sept. 28, 1949): "This book, the result of 20 years of intermittent research, is undoubtedly one of the most important works of literary discovery of our time." It provides "new and irrefutable evidence of the man's innate goodness and kindness, the warm heart that lay in that tiny and twisted body."

[14] Richard Greene, ed., *Selected Letters of Edith Sitwell* (London: Virago Press, 1997), 257–58.

[15] Ault, *New Light on Pope: With Some Additions to his Poetry Hitherto Unknown* (London: Methuen & Co., 1949), 376, 385, 350; Ault, "Pope and 'England's Arch-Poet,'" *The Review of English Studies* 19.76 (1943): 376–85.

ingredient. It draws its subsidiary matter from odd and learned quarters."[16] The editor of the Twickenham edition of *Rape of the Lock* and *The Temple of Fame*, Tillotson traced Pope's esoteric allusions and little-known influences. Tillotson left unpublished notes on Pope's uncommon researches for four geographical façades in *The Temple of Fame*.[17] In his research on *Rape of the Lock*, Tillotson consulted Gershom Scholem, Professor of Jewish Mysticism at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and inquired into the Cabbalistic sources of Pope's Rosicrucian doctrine. He visited A.E. Housman in 1935 to acquire four comic poems he had written as Chair of Latin at Cambridge (Housman insisted he not reprint the "Fragment of a Didactic Poem on Latin Grammar"—a parody on Erasmus Darwin's *Loves of the Plants* and imitation of Pope's *Rape of the Lock* and the *Anti-Jacobin*'s "Love of the Triangles"). Tillotson acknowledged and sympathized with Sitwell's revival of the nineteenth-century Pope controversy: "Miss Sitwell, with little scholarship but a great deal of sympathy, got nearer the true Pope than any biographer since Johnson. She seems to have looked at his portraits and discovered they could not be the portraits of a blackguard."[18] While he supported Sitwell's biography, Tillotson also contrasted it with the new Scriblerian criticism of George Sherburn's *Early Career of Alexander Pope* (1934): "What she discovered by intuition Professor Sherburn has been able to add to and improve on by brilliantly intelligent use of the more reasonable method

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[16] Geoffrey Tillotson, *Augustan Studies* (London: Athlone Press, 1961), 153.

[17] See Unpublished Letter (Gershom Scholem to Geoffrey Tillotson"), 11 November 1937, Harry Ransom Center, Austin TX; Location B51. See Tillotson, "The Publication of Housman's Comic Poems" in *Essays in Criticism and Research* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1942), 157–66. In unpublished notes on the eastern façade of Pope's *Temple of Fame*, Tillotson highlights Pope's affinity for Thomas Stanley, who speculated that Grecian learning "had its Original in the East"; Stanley, "History of the Chaldaick Philosophy," in *The History of Philosophy* (London, 1701), 2. Tillotson also remarks on the generalization of the conjurors in his Temple: "Pope is, of course, considering his 'magicians' seriously, but he goes no further than to make them statuesque. . . . Pope chooses to keep them dignified conjurors. They are essentially the 'magicians' of the popular imagination, of Virgil's eighth Eclogue, of the *Persian Tales*."

[18] Tillotson, *Essays in Criticism and Research*, 87.

of scholarship." Sherburn's biography of Pope spearheaded the modern scholarly recovery of Scriblerian satire under the imprints of Harvard and Yale University Press.

Sherburn not only reviewed Sitwell's *Alexander Pope* unfavorably, but he also diminished the pseudo-scholarly character of her work. He claims, "Miss Sitwell has used Pope as a sort of canvas upon which to display the brilliant coloring of her wit." Apart from "misconceptions of his psychology," he claims, "Miss Sitwell has written brilliantly of Pope's art, concerning which she is doubtless a competent and interesting witness."[19] It is unclear whether Tillotson's description of Sherburn's "brilliantly intelligent use of the more reasonable method of scholarship" mocks his condescending references to Sitwell's "brilliant" wit and her "brilliantly . . . competent and interesting witness" of Pope's art. Sherburn did not entirely dismiss Sitwell's biography, however, for he characterizes her engagement with the canon of British poetry: "Her approval of some of [Pope's] personal traits or actions, while ungrounded in fact by her, can be so grounded, and it is probable that in the days to come her volume will be cited as a notable correction of false nineteenth-century ideas." Despite Sherburn's indirect praise, Sitwell's *Alexander Pope* was not incorporated into authoritative eighteenth-century scholarship in America.

We view the American neglect of Sitwell in Edna Leake Steeves's 1952 edition of Scriblerus's *Peri Bathous*. Steeves declares her affiliation with Sherburn's school: "I am indebted more than I can say to Professor George W. Sherburn, of Harvard. Indeed I, like so many others of his students, am proud to admit that my views on Alexander Pope bear a definite Sherburnesque physiognomy."[20] Sherburn had facilitated a powerful scientific

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[19] Sherburn, *The Early Career of Alexander Pope* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), 24.

[20] R.H. Griffiths and Edna Leake Steeves, eds., *The Art of Sinking in Poetry: Martinus Scriblerus's Peri Bathous* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1952), lxii. Steeves later wrote of Pope's idealization of the Indian, but she does not discuss his Scriblerian Orientalism: "The savage, without an orthodox creed, or at

criticism of the Scriblerus Club—a co-equal group endeavor of the era's pre-eminent satirists. Steeves identifies this hermeneutic shift from Popian Camp to Scriblerus Club: "[the] meager and somewhat vague chronology of the Scriblerus Club has hitherto been viewed in relation to its individual members. But all the facts that shed light on the members' combined activities over its entire period have been treated thoroughly, to my knowledge, only in Charles Kerby Miller's edition of the *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* (1950)." A protégé of Sherburn, Kerby-Miller reframed Scriblerus's *Memoirs* as an incomplete Club opus. He diminished the unique significance of Pope's contributions and preserved his reputation from what Steeves calls, "all the crimes of pseudoclassicism."[21] Steeves's acknowledgements reflect the establishment of a new cabal: "Inevitably, Professor Kerby-Miller's research and my own have followed similar paths, and I am indebted to him for his kindness in permitting me to see the manuscript in the notes to his recent edition" (xiv). Beside Sitwell's unscholarly and subject approach, we might ask why her path might repel authoritative mid-century American critics of Scriblerian satire.

THE SITWELL–LEWIS FEUD, AVANT-GARDE PRIMITIVISM, AND THE CANADIAN SCRIBLERIANS

The next section briefly summarizes the intersection of Sitwell's feud with Wyndham Lewis, framing the dispute as seminal to an insider group of Canadian-born Scriblerian critics from Marshall McLuhan to Hugh Kenner. The Sitwell–Lewis feud begins in 1929, when Sitwell published her scathing satirical prophecy, *Gold Coast*

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least without an orthodoxy recognized by Christianity, nevertheless had his own magical, mysterious, supernatural religion, a religion of the heart. Pope praised the idea aptly. . . . Like Pope's 'poor Indian', Crusoe's man Friday and the Old Master Houyhnhnm possess an innate goodness, a truly religious spirit, without the benefits of orthodoxy"; "'Negritude' and the Noble Savage," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 11.1 (1973): 91–104, 100–101.

[21] Griffith and Steeves, eds., *Peri Bathous*, lxix

Customs (1929). The poem's title references British imperial attitudes, and echoes Pope's lines on the Indian who seeks a pastoral retreat where "no fiends torment, no Christians thirst for Gold." In her poem's two lengthy footnotes, Sitwell reprints a Victorian travel narrative detailing human sacrifice among the Ashanti tribe of West Africa.[22] In *Gold Coast Customs*, she transfers this stereotype to Britain's military and commercial companies, and constructs a tripartite topological allegory consisting of a private costume party of Gold-Coast traders, a "cannibal mart" on London's streets, and an idealized pastoral counter-*topos* of the "negress Dorothy."[23] Sitwell paired *Gold Coast Customs* with a collection of six pastorals sung by "Mahomet" to his favorite daughter "Fatimah." These, she claims, were "meant, originally, to be part of a long poem about Bluebeard.

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[22] Sitwell writes, "These notes, and the drawing on the cover are taken from Dr. George Scheinfurth's voyage narrative, *The Heart of Africa* (translated by Ellen Frewer, published by Messrs. Sampson Low). Scheinfurth recounts travels among the Munbuttoo, a culture in which 'Human fat is universally sold'.". In alluding to Scheinfurth's account of Ashanti tribes in West Africa, Sitwell implicitly invokes the British Empire:" The cannibalism of the Munbuttoo is the most pronounced of all the known nations of Africa. Surrounded as they are by a number of people who, being inferior to them in culture, are consequently held in great contempt, they have just the opportunity which they want for carrying on expeditions of war and plunder, which result in the acquisition of a booty which is especially coveted by them, consisting of human flesh. . . . But with it all, the Munbuttoos are a noble race of men, men who display a certain national pride . . . men to whom one may put a reasonable question and receive a reasonable answer. The Nubians can never say enough in praise of their faithfulness in friendly intercourse and of the order and stability of their national life"; Edith Sitwell, *Gold Coast Customs* (London, 1929), 62. Further references cited as *GC*. See Gaurav Desai, *Subject to Colonialism: African Self-Fashioning and the Colonial Library* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2001), 1–18. Also see Richard Burton and Verney Lovett Cameron, *To the Gold Coast for Gold: A Personal Narrative* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1883), ix.

[23] In her unpublished notes, Sitwell writes, "This poem is built on three levels, each being a spiritual state reflecting the two others. . . . The poem was written in 1929, at a time when destitution was rife, and when a certain set of . . . fools, Gold Coasters, as one might call them, flaunted their riches at debased parties under the very eyes of those who had neither food nor shelter. . . . But the poem, too, has a more universal meaning than that. It speaks of the whole spiritual state that led up to the second World War. It was a definite prophecy of what would arise from such a state—what has arisen. . . . In this poem the bottom of the world has fallen out. Even the light is no longer a reality—but a high ventriloquist sound—(so high that none know whence it comes)—the octave of the black clotted night. . . . The organization of the poem, of this world where all the natural rhythms of the spirit (~~of the soil, and of the seasons, have~~) have broken down, but where a feverish intertwining seething movement, a vain seeking for excitement, still . . . presented some difficulty"; Sitwell, "Gold Coast Customs," at The Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin, Box 18.1**.** (29) 31.2, (257) 72.5, (344) 89.1.

But the long poem is unwritten, and only the songs remain."[24] Sitwell's "Mahomet" sings to a "Shepherdess black with the Sun," and aspires to "change her whom the Sun made black/ To the Ethiopian splendour night (*GC* 29–35). Sitwell's pastorals conclude with an imitation of Pope's *Winter*, and she consolidates a series of tropes related to Dorothy and Fatimah: "Heat of the sun that maketh all men black,—/ They are but Ethiopian shades of thee. . . . Come with African pomp and train of waves,/ Give me your darkness, my immortal shade" (*GC* 36).[25] Sitwell reworks these anti-epic and pastoral tropes in a series of related works: *Alexander Pope*, *Gold Coast Customs*, and *I Live Under a Black Sun*.[26]

In her novel, *I Live Under a Black Sun* (1937), Sitwell develops and draws from her *Alexander Pope* biography and her poem, *Gold Coast Customs*. Instead of the idealized feminine pastoral other (Dorothy/Fatimah), Sitwell draws on current caricatures of Swift's "savage indignation," and adds misogyny to a Victorian-era scandal regarding Swift's relationships with Esther Johnson and Essy Vanhomrigh (Stella and Vanessa).

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[24] Sitwell, *Gold Coast* Customs, 63. A 1697 children's tale by Charles Perrault derived from the stories of Agib and King Schahriyer in the *Arabian Nights*, George Colman's drama, *Bluebeard! Or, Female Curiosity* (1798) possibly provides Sitwell with her protagonist, "Fatima."

[25] Sitwell's mock-epic, "The Metamorphosis," reformulates lines from "Daphne": "Death is the Sun's heat making all men black./ O Death, the splendours die in the leaves' track:/ All men are Ethiopian shades of thee" (*GC* 51). "The Metamorphosis" invokes this sun, "Come, then, Sun, to melt the eternal ice [of 'polar night']" (*GC* 59–60). Sitwell's reworks the image in "The Bat": "Castellated, tall/ From battlements fall/ Shades on heroic/ Lonely grass/ Where the moonlight's echoes die and pass/ Near the rustic boorish/ Fustian Moorish/ Castle Wall of the Ultimate Shade" (*GC* 43). Her Ovidean mock-epic, "The Metamorphosis," opens upon a wintry ruin: "The choral-cold snow seemed the Parthenon,/ Huge peristyle of temples that are gone/ And dark as Asia now is Beauty's daughter. . . . (So grass seemed where the ruined temple's cool/ Shade fell)" (*GC* 45).

[26] John Lehmann claims, "*Alexander Pope* is one of the most important prose works of Edith Sitwell. It tells one almost as much about the author as about Pope, and has in abundance the special fascination of all biographies written by one great poet about another. For the hero of her other outstanding prose work, she chose one of Pope's closest friends, the other towering figure of English literature in the first half of the eighteenth century, Jonathan Swift. . . . It is also interesting to find in it ideas and images which had already shown themselves as dominant in her poetry. . . . To read *I Live Under a Black Sun* after the poetry, is to experience again the remarkable consistency of Edith Sitwell's inspiration"; *Edith Sitwell* (London: Longman & Co., 1952), 33–5. In the introduction to the *Memoirs*, Scriblerus states, "My first vital air I drew in this Island (a soil fruitful of philosophers) but my complexion has become adust, and my body arid, by visiting lands (as the Poet has it) alio sub sole calentes ['warmed by another sun']" (92).

She narrates a fictional memoir of "Jonathan Hare" and his double mistresses, "Anna Marton" and "Essy Vanelden." The affair exposes the "Black Sun" of Swift's internal savagery and misogyny, and even Swift's Scriblerian friends cannot rescue him from degeneration. While Swift's madness allegorizes the irrationality and degeneracy that Sitwell isolates in *Gold Coast Customs*, she figures Pope ("Mr. Weston") as a powerless but sympathetic figure.[27] Sitwell also adopts images from Pope's archive (and cites her own biography) to satirize her contemporary, Wyndham Lewis ("Debringham"). Lewis is a villanous foil to Pope, yet he is also a foreigner (Lewis was born in Nova Scotia) from a land of "polar night" (of "Polar wastes and blubber"). Lewis orchestrates Swift's double affair in order to bring forth his internal otherness: "(All the darkness of Africa, and the pomp of the black sun)."[28] At the conclusion of the novel, Swift encounters the Black Sun of "his own phantom, his *Doppelgänger*" (*BS* 214) as he advanced "to the room where the ghost that was his *Doppelgänger*, his other self, awaited him" (*BS* 242). The

[27] Sitwell portrays a Scriblerian collaboration: "[Hare] had made a new friend . . . young Mr. Weston, the great poet, who was many years younger than himself. Poor Weston was a cripple—he was scarcely more than four feet high, a hunchback, and in constant pain. Jonathan loved him. He was one of the best men, he said, and one of the most generous" (*BS* 149). She writes, "Weston, whose temper was not so curmudgeonly as that of his famous friend, was more amused than stunned by the Tartarean gloom in which he found himself. The rain had stopped, and a period of intense dryness had set in; Weston, walking with Hare and Jarvis [Gay] in the fields, thought that the dust might have been the dust of all the dead philosophers of the world" (191). Sitwell compares Swift's "Black Sun" to Britain's Empire: "the race of pigmies runs. . . pullulating, multiplying and festering, conglomerating their littleness, spreading and aggrandizing it under a huge sun, joining together the cloven maggot, engendering little hopes, little fears, throwing up small sprays of dust, spray by spray, til they have made a universe of dust" (137–38).

[28] Sitwell, *I Live Under a Black Sun*, 18, 38, 150. Sitwell explained her parody of Wyndham Lewis: "I knew him very well, because I sat to him every day excepting Sundays, for ten months. It was impossible to like him, and in the end, his attitude became so threatening that I ceased to sit for him, so that the portrait of me by him in the Tate has no hand." She writes, "I figured as Lady Harriet in his *The Apes of God*. (And he has figured as Mr Henry Debringham in the only novel I have ever written, *I Live Under a Black Sun*)"; See Sitwell to Elizabeth Salter (22 December 1958) in John Lehmann and Derek Parker, eds., *Edith Sitwell: Selected Letters*, 1919–1964 (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1970), 231. *I Live Under a Black Sun* received a rave review from Evelyn Waugh: "Miss Sitwell's book, or so it seems to me, is like a magnesium flame in a cavern, immediately and abundantly beautiful at first sight, provoking further boundless investigation. It is a book that must be read patiently, and it must be read."

Black Sun of Swift's misogyny and pride reveals itself as a barbarous and wicked anti-self:

> [Hare/Swift] was threatening his image, his *Doppelgänger*, the ghost that waited for him, in a mirror. . . . an appalling hollow booming noise echoed down the long corridors and in the empty rooms, a drumming like that which breaks the silence of tropical forests, a crashing, rushing noise and the sound of an orang-outang beating its bosom. The madman was summoning his mate, Darkness. (253–54)

Sitwell's apocalyptic conclusion features a prose imitation of Pope's *Dunciad* and it completes her satire on Lewis—a rival author and critic who argued that Pope took cruel delight in maliciously pillorying the dunces. Lewis had mocked Sitwell in his esoteric Scriblerian satire, *The Apes of God* (1930), and he countered her reading of Pope in his essay, *Satire and Fiction* (1932). According to Lewis, Pope and Swift were too dogmatic to sympathize with the targets of their satire: "*Laughter* is the medium employed, certainly, but there is laughter and laughter, and that of true satire is as it were a *tragic* laughter."[29] In *Apes of God*, Lewis reaffirms, "'True satire must be vicious. . . . The venom of Pope is what is needed." (*AG* 322).[30] In the final episode of *Apes of God*, Lewis

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[29] In *Satire and Fiction*, Lewis reprints a letter from W.B. Yeats: "Somebody has told me that you have satirized Edith Sitwell. If that is so, visionary excitement has in part benumbed your senses. When I read her Gold Coast Customs a year ago, I felt, as on first reading *The Apes of God*, that something absent from all literature for a generation was back again, and in a form rare in the literature of all generations"; Satire and Fiction (London: Arthur Press, 1931), 29. On Yeats's recuperation of Swift for Anglo-Irish literary tradition, see Robert Mahony, *Jonathan Swift: The Irish Identity* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1995), 145–46. Yeats's Words on a Windowpane (1934) revives the ghosts of Swift, Vanessa, and Stella in a mock-séance. See *The Collected Plays of W.B. Yeats* (New York: Macmillan, 1953), 378–80; M.L. Rosenthal, *William Butler Yeats: Selected Poems and Four Plays*, 171. In 1957, Sitwell distinguishes Yeats's "Orientalism. . . His mystical side" from her own: "I read a good deal of the same kind of thing myself; but I think he used to get a little égaré [trans: astray] on the subject, don't you?"; Dame Edith Sitwell, "Interview on 70th Birthday celebration with John Lehmann, Raymond Mortimer, Frederick Ashton, and William Plomer; Original Transcript from Tape, with fair copy for publication in the [London Sunday] Times; (26 August 1957), 8.

[30] Lewis, *The Apes of God* (New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1930), 332. Further references cited *AG*. See Mark Perrino, *The Poetics of Mockery: Wyndham Lewis's The Apes of God and the Popularization of Modernism* (London: W.S. Maney & Sons Ltd., 1995), 138–54. Lewis claims, "against Pope, and against Swift, this charge especially has been brought—that the people they assailed were small. . . . It would have pleased humanity at large far better if Pope had fallen upon Swift, for instance, and if Swift had held up Pope to scorn!"; *Satire and Fiction*. 44–45.

flays Sitwell's circle, uncovering their childish primitivism and refined deviance. He mocks the Sitwells as the "Finnian Shaw" family group, who throw a "great Lenten Freak Party" in an apartment upstairs from a jazz club, and wage "age-war" and "sex-war" against ideals of patriarchal British identity. Lewis conceptualizes the Sitwell camp's influence on popular and literary culture: "The Finnian Shaws themselves are half in the Past. They know the Time-paths. . . . They are celebrated Globe-trotters—tourists of an earth conceived chronologically as *history*—as a Time-ball—an eclectic historical playground. Or, better, they are semi-victorian sportsmen of the *dark-continent* of Time—a temporal Africa" (531–32).[31] The Finnian Shaws' apartment resembles a grotesque scene of inversion, and visitors to her costume party recall the burlesque caricatures of Scriblerus's Double Mistress episode.[32] To the extent that he depicted

[31] Kenner addresses Lewis's relationship with "alternative Bloomsbury": "for a while the Sitwells were Lewis's collective patron. . . . But he had doubts about their 'special brand of rich-man's bolshevism"—they talked pacifist-left but preferred to see revolution make its points elsewhere—and by 1930 he'd pilloried them memorably in the 'Lord Osmund's Lenten Party' section of his gargantuan *The Apes of God*"; *A Sinking Island: The Modern English Writers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988) 158–60.

[32] Scriblerus's Double Mistress informs the décor of the Finnian Shaws' apartment: "Upon the walls the pictures revealed the strange embrace of Past and Present. . . . There was a picture of two buffoons . . . two Magnascos of a mock trial in a cavern of witches and gypsies . . . a Max Ernst of two disintegrated figures in frenzied conjugation—a Modigliani of two peasant morons, both girls, one depressed upon her left flank with a ponderous teat. . . . A Niccolo Cassana of a Finnian Shaw, a Harlequin, and 3 Rowlandsons were in one recess, with books and African masks" (*AG* 491). Lewis's satirical protagonist arrives at the party dressed as Mussolini fascist. He brings along a pupil, Dan Boleyn: "'I know all about you' said the Fascist. 'I know you never speak.' . . . there was a strange thing to say—he who would sometimes chatter like a magpie! 'Zagreus calls you 'his idiot.'" (472). At birth of Scriblerus: "There went a Report in the family, that as soon as he was born he . . . chattered like a Mag-pye" (*MS* 99). Boleyn arrives at the costume dressed in drag, descends into the downstairs jazz club, and loses his sexual identity in a drinking bout with his monstrous mirror, "The Tropical Man" (*AG* 569–73). Julius Ratner, receives a costume, whose significance is explained by Horace Zagreus: "You are the terrible Barin Mutum, or African Half-man. What is that? Nothing to do with the Socratic variety. . . . I have just been reading about this creature. . . . The Arabs called him Split-man, it seems. It is a being split down longitudinally. . . . The Zulus even believed in a whole tribe of such Split-men. They describe how one day these half-people came across a Zulu girl. They examined her. 'The Thing is pretty,' they said. But oh the two legs!'—You get the idea of this being? (331). Lewis's satirical hero is "a little Sultana. . . . [in] the midst of his asiatic abandon. . . . All his instincts are topsy-turvy . . . [he] is inverted and introverted—he does not know what truth means—he has no standards whatever! . . . He seems to understand everything!" (513, 611).

Sitwell as a grotesque Scriblerian monster, Lewis also borrows from esoteric aspects of Pope's *Dunciad* and from the Double Mistress burlesque in Scriblerus's *Memoirs*.

Contemporary literary critics have not yet accounted for the impact of Lewis's Scriblerian interpretation on the subsequent media theory of his Canadian understudy, Marshall McLuhan. Although McLuhan did not adopt Lewis's extremist politics, he adopted an esoteric and Orientalist interpretation of the *Dunciad*. McLuhan derived his analysis in part from Lewis's *Apes of God*, which imitates the Gnostic initiation ritual he identified with book four of Pope's *Dunciad*.[33] Alongside McLuhan's sense of a Scriblerian "secret literature," he also isolates the contours of Pope's anxiety toward modernity.[34] He viewed the poem not as a satire on dunces, but as a prophecy of the impending age of electric media.[35] McLuhan claims that the *Dunciad* both parodies the

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[33] Theall asserts, "Lewis, who frequently echoes Pope in *The Apes of God*, structured the novel on a principle similar to Pope's *Dunciad* . . . and its view of artistic creation as an initiation ritual into a mystery religion. . . . [N]ext to Lewis, Pope played a particularly important role in McLuhan's having developed a history of media and other artifacts. This was the case because Pope's satire was an important element in the published version of his work, which was both a satire about books and mechanization and the conscious program of a group of artists—the Scriblerus Club. . . . McLuhan was well aware of the parallels between Pope and Lewis. In 1952, with his encouragement, I wrote a paper developing an elaborate parallel between Lewis's *Apes of God* and *The Dunciad*. This structural relationship can readily be established through Lewis's extensive allusions to Pope in the Apes and by the fact that Lewis in his *Apes*, like Pope in *The Dunciad Variorum* . . . uses a parodic version of the Eleusinian mysteries for the structural organization of his book"; *The Virtual Marshall McLuhan*, 115; 194–97.

[34] McLuhan's graduate student, Donald F. Theall, recalls, "studying under Marshall, in the fall of 1951 I began extensive research into Alexander Pope's satires, especially The Dunciad Variorum. This led to a series of questions about why Pope had satirized Rosicrucians in his *Rape of the Lock* and Freemasonry in the final version of *The Dunciad*. This led us into an extensive examination of the role of Freemasonry in neo-Augustan England, particularly in the first half of the eighteenth century. In the process, Marshall increased his already deep interest, and I became involved in the history of gnosticism and related movements. While working on Gnosticism together, I remember Marshall's reaction of scandal at the 'hidden knowledge' in contemporary poetry, art, and scholarship"; Theall, *The Virtual Marshall McLuhan* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press , 2001), 108. On his paranoia, see Philip Marchand, *Marshall McLuhan: The Medium and the Messenger: A Biography* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 78–114.

[35] The final chapters of Gutenberg Galaxy show a Pop/e media theory. Their titles follow as such: 1) "Pope's Dunciad indicts the printed book as the agent of a primitivistic and Romantic revival. Sheer visual quantity evokes the magical resonance of the tribal horde. The box office looms as the echo chamber of bardic incantation," 2) "The new collective unconscious Pope saw as the accumulating backwash of private self-expression," 3) "The last book of The Dunciad proclaims the metamorphic power of mechanically

overheating of print media and prophesies the reversal of its effects in the electric age: "Anybody who tried to get Pope's meaning by considering the content of the writers he presents would miss the needed clues. Pope is offering a formal causality, not an efficient causality, as an explanation of a metamorphosis from within."[36] He insists that book four of the *Dunciad* represents print media's effect of "mesmerically ushering the polite world back into primitivism, the Africa within, and above all, the unconscious. . . . The ever-enlarging domain Pope calls the world 'of Chaos and old Night.'"[37] According to McLuhan, the "explosion" of print media in Renaissance Europe fostered the ideals of private individuality by privileging the detached eye and the rational self (an "I" capable of critical discrimination and judgment). McLuhan explains that this eighteenth-century rhetoric has persisted long after the acceleration of print, invention of circuitry, and formation of new media ecologies.[38] Pope's *Dunciad* predicts the revival of a "tribal" unconsciousness, as "implosive (compressional) character of the electric technology plays the disk or film of Western man backward, into the heart of tribal darkness, or into what Joseph Conrad called 'the Africa within.'"[39] Those who view of McLuhan as a post-

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applied knowledge as a stupendous parody of the Eucharist"; McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1962), 28, 255–65.

[36] See McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man*, 255–65.

[37] Ibid., 259.

[38] McLuhan depicts Edward Gibbon as a prophet of imperial decline and also as a vanguard in the use of an overheated print medium: "Said the Duke of Gloucester to Edward Gibbon upon the publication of his Decline and Fall; 'Another damned fat book, eh, Mr. Gibbon? Scribble, scribble, scribble, eh, Mr. Gibbon?'"; *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (London: Routledge, 2001), 16.

[39] McLuhan cites a "reversal . . . now proceeding apace, by which the Western world is going Eastern, even as the East goes Western. Joyce encoded this reciprocal reverse in his cryptic phrase: 'The West shall shake the East awake/ While ye have night for morn.' The title of his Finnegans Wake is a set of multi-leveled puns on the reversal by which Western man enters his tribal, or Finn, cycle once more, following the track of old Finn, but wide awake as we enter the tribal night." Such transformations "can no longer be contained" but are "now involved in our lives, thanks to the electric media. . . . The Theater of the Absurd dramatizes this recent dilemma of Western man, the man of action who appears not to be involved in the action"; *Understanding Media*, 120–21, 38, 5.

modern media theorist often overlook his literary debt to Pope and Lewis, and downplay the discomforting significance of his Orientalist rhetoric and primitivist stereotypes.

We might regard McLuhan's positioning among a legacy of Canadian Scriblerian modernists from Lewis to Hugh Kenner—the critic best known for his rehabilitation of Ezra Pound's legacy.[40] Kenner earned his graduate degree from Yale in the year that Yale University Press released *The Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* (1950), and three years before William K. Wimsatt acted as Glumdulca in Yale's revival of Fielding's *Tom Thumb*. A former undergraduate of McLuhan at the University of Toronto, Kenner analyzed Pope's Scriblerian "Pop" in his theoretical study, *The Counterfeiters*: *An Historical Comedy*.[41] Kenner portrays Pope as an experimental neoclassicist, who "transmuted, to the point of destruction, the old ritual genres, tragedy, comic, epic, which were proper to an old universe" (*C* 12). As he parodies and jettisons classical genres, Pope aspires to an innovative form of poetic architecture: "If Dryden found brick and left it marble, he still thought of the poem as a building, reared in great blocks. What came to Pope as marble, however, he left as a system of tensions, limber, open, bending to the wind, like some Eiffel Tower of the imagination" (*C* 60). Kenner depicts Scriblerus as an invented persona achieved through Pope's masterful manipulation of print's author function: "somehow that which is written implies a person, an A. Pope or an R. Crusoe" (31). Kenner frames Scriblerian aesthetics as a self-conscious study of "kinetic man, a being [to be] approached with the almost metaphysical awe we reserve for a

[40] See Hugh Kenner, *The Pound Era* (Berkeley, CA: Univ. of California Press, 1973).

[41] See Kenner, "Pope's Reasonable Rhymes," *A Journal of English Literary History* 41.1 (1974): 74–88; "Maynard Mack's Pope," in *Historical Fictions* (Athens, GA: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1995), 249–66; "Lisping in Numbers," in *Historical Fictions*, 305–17; "The Cloud Compelling Queen: A Review of Aubrey Williams's Pope's Dunciad: A Study of its Meaning," *Poetry* 88.4 (1956), 277–81.

Doppelgänger."[42] Pope culls his subject matter from the failures of his contemporaries, deploying the "huge legacy of the unconsciously comic. . . . as a huge commonplace book on which his own creative enterprise could draw, building crazy edifices of congruous and incongruous simile, climax and anticlimax, low and heroic diction, which wobble majestically on their pivots without ever falling off" (56–60). Kenner's Pope epitomizes refinement, as mocks the inflated neoclassical dignity and inadvertent Camp of enemies through the filter of Scriblerus's serious praise.[43] Kenner's associates Scriblerian satire with modern modes that operate "by juxtaposition, by parody, by the evocation of classic norms" (12). In a similar fashion, Srinivas Aravamudan has depicted the Enlightenment Orientalism of Pope's era as "a vibrant interrogation and critique of predecessor narratives by citation, parody, and juxtaposition" (*EO* 10). Like Aravamudan, Kenner does not discuss Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism. He instead delineates Pope's "Pop" tactics of generating the aura of his Scriblerian persona through "*Phosphorescent Quotation*" (or "juxtaposition"), "*Connoisseurship*" (a means to "parody"), and "*Counterfeiting*" (an "evocation of classical norms").[44] As Pope parodies the dunces, he also re-orients the inner form of this camp's unacknowledged corruptions.

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[42] Kenner is describing Buster Keaton's self-conscious kinetic expression. He depicts Keaton as America's archetypal "comedian of archaic dignity, its Aeschylus and its Scriblerus. If between archaic dignity and the comic there exists some hidden but necessary connection, we cannot better understand what it is than by inspecting that face. . . . This is the True Art of Sinking, into which no one ever went so deeply as he" (*C* 69).

[43] Kenner writes, "It was in the course of transmuting the second George into Augustus that Pope made his principal contribution to the theory of counterfeiting, so stunning an insight that he was to spend much of the seven years that remained to him recasting the Dunciad by its light. He discovered Pop Art" (*C* 92).

[44] Kenner allies his authorial persona with that of Jorge Luis Borges, who composed imitated Pope's Scriblerian satire in his short story, "The Immortal," and essay, "The Wall and the Books." Kenner relates his persona to his 1964 signature (below Borges's signature) in a hotel guest book in Paris: "And Borges, some years earlier, had considered that he was attended by an alter ego named Borges, one of the pair having a soul, and one (not the same?) having written an account of how certain volumes of the Encyclopedia Britannica were counterfeited so as to circulate allusions to a realm called Tlön . . . [which] 'does not exist'" (*C* 20). On Borges's imitations of Pope, see Burgin, ed., *Jorge Luis Borges: Conversations*, 24–25; See also Yates and Irby, eds. *Labyrinths*, 105–119, 186–89.

VLADIMIR NABOKOV, POPIAN ZEMBLA, AND THE RETURN OF THE DOUBLE MISTRESS

If Kenner's *Counterfeiters* represents the vanguard of experimental fiction and post-modern scholarship on the Scriblerians, this final discussion focuses on an author who conceptualized "Popian Zembla" in response to the authoritative scholarly edition of Scriblerus's *Memoirs*. During his tenure at Wellesley College, Vladimir Nabokov became acquainted with Charles Kerby-Miller: the twentieth-century editor of the *Memoirs*.[45] Shortly after he accepted a position at Cornell and embarked for Ithaca, NY, Nabokov devised an imitation of the Double Mistress. Brian Boyd narrates Nabokov's concept:

> 'I think I'll write a novel about the life of a pair of Siamese twins.' 'You will not', answered Véra [Nabokov]'. By September [1950] . . . he had begun, if not quite the novel he had envisaged, at least 'a three-part' tragic tale': in the first part a pair of Siamese twins spend their childhood in Turkey before being abducted to America; in the second part they marry two normal girls, sisters; in the third 'they are separated by surgery, and only the narrator survives, but he too dies after finishing his story'. Teaching pressures dictated that only the first part would ever be written.[46]

The *New Yorker* rejected Nabokov's submission of a fragmentary combination of the first and final parts of the tragic tale. After he published the "Double Monster" in *Nabokov's Dozen* (1958), Nabokov delighted in encountering readers scandalized by the story.[47] He had composed a sympathetic first person narrative of Floyd, who narrates a story of his childhood, as his conjoined twin Lloyd responds to the interrogation of an American

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[45] Brian Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1991), 36, 216, 294; Boyd, *Nabokov's Pale Fire: The Magic of Artistic Discovery* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1999), 40–59, 199–240. Nabokov taught at Wellesley, studied butterflies at Harvard's Museum of Comparative Zoology, and traced eighteenth-century British influences on Alexander Pushkin's Eugene Onegin. Pushkin described one Scriblerian imitator, Thomas Moore, as a "prim imitator of deformed Oriental imagination . . . All of Lalla Rookh is not worth ten lines of Tristram Shandy"; Alan B. Howes, ed., Sterne: *The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge, 1974), 463.

[46] Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years*, 171

[47] Boyd recounts his cocktail party encounter with "a very pretty woman," who "mentioned she had just read his 'Scenes from the Life of a Double Monster' . . . 'Did you like it?' He asked. 'I loathed it,' she replied, and swept by him to the door. Nabokov recounted the incident with gales of laughter"; Ibid., 359. See also Lisa Zunshine, "Vladimir Nabokov and the Scriblerians," in *Nabokov at Cornell*, 161–171.

doctor, who wields his scalpel with a "dreamy smile of scientific delectation."[48] The twins have grown up in the circus of "grandfather Ibrahim, or Ahem," where they entertained vulgar Western crowds and learned a pidgin language of Turkish and English from an American salesman. In their attempt to escape the confinement of the circus, Floyd and Lloyd are captured by the salesman and sold to the American laboratory. At the conclusion of his tale, Floyd imagines having instead been captured by a curious and "adventurous stranger" who "would have surely experienced a thrill of ancient enchantment to find himself confronted by a mythological monster. . . . He would have worshipped it, he would have shed tears."[49] Whereas Kerby-Miller had conceived of the Double Mistress as a fascinating fragment meaningful to the incomplete Club opus, Nabokov's "Double Monster" imitates an aesthetic of deformity unique to Pope.

In his 1962 novel, *Pale Fire*, Nabokov developed the Popian and Scriblerian structure of his fragmentary "Double Monster." He also expands upon the idea of an author with a contradictory double-intentionality. The narrator of Nabokov's "Double Monster" explains his connection to his twin: "The pattern of our acts prompted by this or that mutual urge formed a kind of gray, evenly woven generalized background against which the discrete impulse, his or mine, followed a brighter and sharper course; but (guided as it were by the warp of the background pattern) it never went athwart of the common weave of the other twin's whim."[50] His *Pale Fire* features a centerpiece poem in heroic couplets by a Pope scholar named John Shade, who has published a book on *Essay on Man* called "*Supremely Blest*." Shade's poem reflects upon a contrapuntal aesthetics:

But all at once it dawned on me that *this*

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[48] *The Stories of Vladimir Nabokov* (New York: Vintage House, 1995), 612.
[49] Nabokov, *Stories*, 618.
[50] Ibid., 614

Was the real point, the contrapuntal theme;

Just this: not text, but texture; not the dream

But topsy-turvical coincidence,

Not flimsy nonsense, but a web of sense.

Yes! It sufficed that I in life could find

Some kind of link-and-bobolink, some kind

Of correlated pattern in the game,

Plexed artistry, and something of the same

Pleasure in it as they who played it found. (*PF* 63)

Despite this reference to the contrapuntal theme of a group of collaborators, Nabokov's poet and scholar, John Shade, expresses a unique enthusiasm for a particular writer. He declares in his poem, "I'd recently finished my book on Pope" (*PF* 46). In the endnotes of his posthumous editor, Charles Kinbote, we learn that the "title of this work which can be found in any college library is *Supremely blest*, a phrase borrowed from a Popian line, which I remember but cannot quote exactly. The book is concerned mainly with Pope's technique but also contains pithy observations on the 'stylized morals of his age'" (195).

The title of Shade's study alludes to *An Essay on Man*: "See the blind beggar dance, the cripple sing,/ the sot a hero, lunatic a king;/ The starving chemist in his golden views,/ Supremely blest, the poet in his Muse" (ii.267–70). Elsewhere, Kinbote cites an "interesting variant" of these lines scribbled in the margins of Shade's book manuscript:

417 I fled upstairs at the first quawk of jazz

And read a galley proof: "Such verses as

'See the blind beggar dance, the cripple sing,

The sot a hero, lunatic a king'

Smack of their heartless age." Then came your call

> This is, of course, from Pope's *Essay on Man*. One knows not what to wonder at more: Pope's not finding a monosyllable to replace "hero" (for example, "man") so as to accommodate the definite article before the next word, or Shade's replacing an admirable passage by the much flabbier final text. Or was he afraid of offending an authentic king? (203)

Kinbote—the exiled King of Zembla—alludes to his anger regarding Shade's removal of the fantastic tales of his northern homeland.[51] Kinbote expresses this anger by maligning Shade's provincial tastes, undermining his good reputation, and citing his stale poetic imitation of an author who found his "last resort of wit" in "Parody. . . . Yes, reader, Pope."[52] Kinbote alludes to an overlap between Pope's poetry and his own contributions: "the poet has written, on the eve of his death, a line (from Pope's Second Epistle of the *Essay on Man*) that he may have intended to cite in a footnote:/ *At Greenland, Zembla, or the Lord Knows where*/ So this is all treacherous old Shade could say about Zembla—*my*

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[51] On the bobolink's links to a contrapuntal aesthetic, see Michael Baxandall, *Shadows and Enlightenment* (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 1997), 36–40.

[52] Kinbote's footnotes are saturated with allusions as well as overt references to Pope:
Lines 895–899: The more I weigh . . . or this dewlap
Instead of these facile and revolting lines, the draft gives:
895 I have a certain liking, I admit,
For Parody, that last resort of wit:
"In nature's strife when fortitude prevails
The victim falters and the victor fails"
899 Yes, reader, Pope. (PF 269)
Kinbote details Shade's lesson on Pope after his heart attack. Before leaving the hospital bed, Shade "was again speaking of his favorite Pope to eight pious young men, a crippled extramural woman and three coeds, one of them a tutorial dream" (250). He also attempts intricate Popian burlesques of Shade, citing the opening lines of Mary Robinson's 1791 poem, "Stanzas": "HERE POPE FIRST SUNG! O, hallow'd Tree!/ Such is the boast thy bark displays;/ Thy branches, like thy Patron's lays,/ Shall ever, ever, sacred be"; Mary Robinson, *Poems by M. Robinson*, 2 vols., Vol. 1 (London, 1791), 129. Kinbote twists these lines in his recollection: "Limpidly do I remember one perfect evening when my friend sparkled with quips, and marrowskies, and anecdotes which I gallantly countered with tales of Zembla and harebreath escapes! As we were skirting Dulwich Forest, he interrupted me to indicate a natural grotto in the mossy rocks by the side of the path under the flowering dogwoods. This is the spot where the good farmer invariably stopped, and once, when they happened to be accompanied by his little boy, the latter, as he trotted beside them, pointed and remarked informatively: 'Here Papa pisses'" (186).

Zembla?" (272). From the margins of "Popian 'Zembla'," we glimpse a contrapuntal form that renders Nabokov's *Pale Fire* a contribution to a twentieth-century Pope revival.

Nabokov may have concocted his fictional northern *topos* from a study of Pope's several allusions to "Zembla" in *The Dunciad* (i.74), *Essay on Man* (ii.124), and *Temple of Fame* (ll.53–60). Geoffrey Tillotson's 1940 edition of *The Rape of the Lock and Other Poems* collects these allusions in an appendix, "Zembla: The Poet and The Scientist." Tillotson analyzes Pope's references to a realm fertile with poetic experimentation and visionary madness. Kinbote explains "Popian 'Zembla'" as a supplement to "Pale Fire":

> [Shade's] final text of *Pale Fire* had been deliberately and drastically drained of every trace of material I had contributed to it. . . . [Shade's wife] made him tone down or remove from his fair Copy everything connected with the magnificent Zemblan theme with which I kept furnishing him and which . . . I fondly believed would become the main rich thread in its weave! . . . Instead of the wild glorious romance—what did I have? An autobiographical, eminently Appalachian, rather old-fashioned narrative in a neo-Popian prosodic style . . . void of my magic, of that special streak of rich magical madness which I was sure would run through it and make it transcend its time! (*PF* 91, 296–7)

Holding "all Zembla pressed to my heart" (289), Kinbote envelops Shade's heroic couplets in a paratext of Scriblerian endnotes. After Shade's murder, Kinbote confiscates his manuscript and invents upon it, adding layers of complexity and fictional depth. Kinbote acquires Shade's manuscript thanks to the failed assassination attempt of a mechanical "clockwork" agent or "automatic man"—a Zemblan extremist named "Jakob Gradus . . . Jack Degree or Jacques de Grey. . . . [son of] Martin Gradus" (265). This assassin mistakes Shade for his target: Zembla's exiled monarch, Kinbote. Shade's editor hints at a submerged organic metaphor in Gradus's name: "I do not know if it is relevant or not but there is a cat-and-mouse game . . . and 'tree' in Zemblan is *grados*" (93).

Despite Kinbote's claim that Shade removed his "Popian 'Zembla,'" Shade foreshadows the multiplicity of his authorial identity: "And from the inside, too, I'd

duplicate/ Myself . . . Uncurtaining the Night. . . . *Life is a message scribbled in the dark./* Anonymous" (*PF* 33, 41). Shade recounts his mystical witness of Zembla's metaphysical "*grados*." Just prior to suffering a heart attack in the midst of giving a lecture to a group of dilettantish dunces ("The Crashaw Club had paid me to discuss/ Why Poetry is Meaningful to Us"), Shade attains a romantic vision beyond his conscious imagination:

I can't tell you how

I knew—but I did know that I had crossed

The border. . . .

And blood-black nothingness began to spin

A system of cells interlinked within

Cells interlinked within cells interlinked

Within one stem. And dreadfully distinct

Against the dark, a tall white fountain played. . . .

[I realized] that the sense behind

The scene was not our sense. (59)

Convinced that he has witnessed a symbol from beyond the grave, Shade confirms his intuition: "Then, one day,/ I came across what seemed a twin display" (60). While reading a magazine, he finds an interview with a woman who has also seen the Zemblan fountain in a life-after-death experience of "'The Land/ Beyond the Veil.'" This account confirms Shade's sense of mysterious significance, yet, upon seeking her out, they misconstrue one another due to confusion over an unacknowledged misprint in the article. Repelled by his awkward meeting with this stranger, Shade resists pursuing what might become an "Affinity, a sacramental bond,/ Uniting mystically her and me,/ And in a jiffy our two souls would be/ Brother and sister trembling on the brink/ Of tender

incest" (62). As he denies these messages "*scribbled in the dark*" below the level of his conscious volition, this Pope imitator also disavows the creative background of Zembla.

Pope initially depicted Zembla in the context of a "visionary and allegorical kind of Poetry, which admits of every wild Object that Fancy may present in a Dream, and where it is sufficient if the moral Meaning atone for the Improbability."[53] This visionary and allegorical poetry exemplifies the mode Scriblerian Orientalist experimentation that Pope intimates to Judith Cowper and Joseph Spence. While contemporary literary critics are not well acquainted with this aspect of Pope's archive and legacy, several twentieth-century writers regarded his investment in such experimental and exotic neoclassicism—one in which he revealed unseen incursions of the foreign within the familiar, but also sought out unconventional sources as the basis for ironic self-reflection and speculative re-orientation through the anti-self and other. While twentieth-century authors disagree in their interpretations of Pope's Scriblerian Orientalism and its literary-historical significance, they agree in their investment a marginal aesthetic beyond the scope of authoritative scholarly criticism. In the above argument, I have portrayed Scriblerian Orientalism as a supplementary framework and dialectical lens for reading Pope. This mode has been difficult for scholars to claim and classify due to its unconventional form, uneven proliferation, and controversial reception. By virtue of this marginality, however, Pope's Scriblerian aesthetic has given rise to a diverse archive of English literature and criticism unified by its insider revaluations of outsider perspectives. Although the Double Mistress currently resides at the obscure fringe of Pope's archive, its experimental form and far-reaching appeal afford us new perspectives on eminently canonical literature.

[53] See Tillotson, ed. *The Rape of the Lock and Other Poems*, 410–411.

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